

2000

Style and Commerce: The Charleston Ceramics Trade in the 1760s

Lisa Hudgins

University of South Carolina - Columbia, hudgins@mailbox.sc.edu

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STYLE AND COMMERCE:

The Charleston Ceramics Trade in the 1760s.

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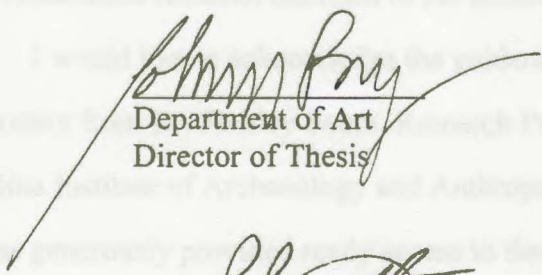
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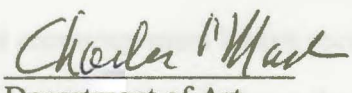
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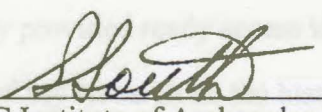
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PREFACE

In September 1765, an advertisement in the *South Carolina Gazette* announced the establishment of a potworks near Charleston:

We are informed, that a gentlemen, lately from England, who has lately set up a pottery about 9 miles from this, has met with so good Clay for his purpose, that he scarce doubts of his ware's exceeding that of Delft: He proposes to make every kind of earthenware that is usually imported from England, and as it will be sold cheaper, he cannot fail to meet with encouragement.¹

The gentleman was John Bartlam, a resident of Stoke-on-Trent Parish in Staffordshire, England, who had been in the potting business for roughly twelve years before immigrating to Charleston.² The full impact of Bartlam's potworks on the colonial ceramics trade is still unknown, as Bartlam's kiln has not been found. But archaeological excavations at Cainhoy, South Carolina (38BK1349), the site of his pottery from 1763 to 1769, have revealed many ceramic artifacts including some that archaeologist Stanley South identified as possible Bartlam products.³ In his analysis of the 1992 excavations at Cainhoy, Dr. South discussed over 80 distinct pottery types on the site, consisting of imported European ceramics, Native American pottery, colonoware, and the proposed Bartlam wares.

¹ *South Carolina Gazette*, Charleston, 28 Sept., 1765, 3-3.

² Bradford Rauschenberg, "John Bartlam, Who Established 'New Pottworks in South Carolina' and Became the First Successful Creamware Potter in America," *Journal of the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts*, XVII (November 1991), 2-11

³ Stanley South, *The Search for John Bartlam at Cain Hoy: America's first Creamware Potter*. Research Manuscript Series 163 (Columbia: South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina 1993.)

Several of the Bartlam pieces so closely mirror the imported wares that a distinction can scarcely be made. Subsequent excavations on the same location (38BK1349A) provided clearer evidence of Bartlam's success as a potter, but the number of wares attributable to the potter was still unclear. In 1993, excavations revealed nearly 17,000 ceramic sherds, providing a broader representation of the contemporary ceramic market in the greater Charleston area during the mid-eighteenth century. Although the preliminary analysis was completed in 1994, subsequent research is still needed to separate the wares being made locally by Bartlam from those which were being imported from England and continental Europe. A complete analysis of Charleston ceramics would provide a much-needed baseline with which we could compare Bartlam's locally-made wares.

The documentary and archaeological evidence summarized in this report presents a picture of Charleston's consumption patterns and of the quality of wares arriving in the colonies annually during the 1760s. The intent of this thesis is to analyze the Charleston ceramics market, paying special attention to documentary and archaeological evidence which may help to delineate the Charleston profile as distinguishable from other colonial centers. My conclusions will serve as the basis for a reanalysis of archaeological samplings at Cainhoy, and may provide a comparative database for historical and archaeological research on historic ceramics in other Charleston sites.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

“You will expect, Madam, I should say something of the part of the world I am now fixt in. ‘Tis South Carolina, a large and plentiful province. Charles Town, its metropolis is a gentile, agreeable place, and its inhabitants are a polite set of people.”

Eliza Lucas, June 30th, 1742¹

In the heart of the South Carolina low country stood Charleston - the economic epicenter of the southern colonies during the 1760s. Established a century earlier, Charleston was the core of southern commerce, hosting ships from Europe, the West Indies and the northern colonies as they brought their cargoes to be dispersed to colonial agents (or “factors”) or sent onward to other trade centers. By the 1760s, Charleston was one of the most affluent cities in the American colonies, capturing seven times the per capita wealth of Boston, and eight times the income of New York.² Many residents could well afford the broad range of goods imported for resale in the Charleston shops. Colonial merchants like Henry Laurens and John Guerard held economic ties that allowed wholesale purchase of finished products, minimizing the cost to the consumer and facilitating their own commercial ventures.³ As a result, a wide range of material

¹ Elise Pinckney, *The Letterbook of Eliza Lucas Pinckney* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1997), 44.

² Walter Edgar, *The History of South Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1998), 161.

³ Martha Zierden, “A Trans-Atlantic Merchant's House in Charleston: Archaeological Exploration of Refinement and Subsistence in an Urban Setting,” *Historical Archaeology* 33 (Fall 1999):77.

goods, including ceramic wares, was distributed in eighteenth-century Charleston, as evidenced by the documentary and archaeological evidence.

In the decades prior to the American Revolution, imported ceramics, especially British pottery, enjoyed a brisk market in the American colonies. Ceramics manufacturing in Europe was undergoing tremendous change as production methods shifted from cottage industry to "manufactories." The development of refined earthenwares introduced a sophistication to locally-made British pottery which promoted its acceptance by the upper classes. British tablewares and tea sets became more complex as part of the social ritual and fine dining which became the hallmark of those in "respectable" society. England's potters began producing a new line of refined earthenwares and stonewares. They created botanically shaped teapots with brilliant glazes in green and yellow. Cream-colored tablewares arrived by the crate. Sophisticated tea sets could be purchased in white stoneware or refined earthenwares glazed in black and gold. British potteries also began to manufacture a soft porcelain to emulate the Asian ceramics which were flooding the European market. Vessel forms went from the heavy, communal dishes to more individual and formal forms. Customers eagerly watched as new glazes and styles emerged, and as colonial purchasing power increased, consumer demand helped to influence what was sold at auction, what was displayed in shops, and what sat untouched in darkened warehouses and on colonial wharves.

Overall, Charleston society wanted for nothing that money could purchase; ceramics of every price could be obtained in the capitol city. Purchases of porcelain and refined wares were not limited to the merchant and planter class. Archaeological and

documentary evidence suggests that middle- and lower-class consumers had access to fine table and teawares, perhaps as individual pieces or parts of sets. The purchase of sale items or seconds may also have allowed the buyers of all classes to enjoy the beauty of these new refined wares. Potters and merchants in England understood the value of this second echelon market, and catered to it as well as they could. They diversified their production to meet a complex economic market, and consumers responded favorably.

The Art of Marketing

The 1760s were remarkably volatile for the ceramics industry. New techniques and glazes were being introduced at a mind-numbing rate, and the potters were stressed to keep up with the demand. In addition to the old stand-by of “delf” and yellow slip-glazed wares, potters were producing white salt-glazed stonewares, mottled earthenwares, brilliant molded wares in yellow and green, and enameled wares. Potters began to specialize in one or two types, thus reducing their production costs. As specialization developed, patterns of trade and regional taste appear to have become more important in the determination of buying trends throughout the colonies.

Not every ware appealed to every consumer, perhaps accounting for some regional variations in the distribution of ceramics styles throughout the colonies. Those potters adept in marketing knew this and focused their sales accordingly. In one example, Josiah Wedgwood wrote to his future partner Thomas Bentley that should his green and gold colored wares not sell on the English market, they should be targeted for the “hot climates”⁴ (West Indies), which he considered an indiscriminating market. This

⁴ John Thomas, *Rise of the Staffordshire Potteries* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1971), 106.

deliberate distribution to specific colonial markets may have also contributed to the uneven distribution of wares in the colonies.

Wedgwood's bright colors of green and gold were visible on wares made in the shapes of cauliflower, melons, and pineapples. Archaeologically these wares crop up frequently in the Chesapeake Bay and coastal Carolina areas, but do not appear to be as plentiful in the northern colonies, although shipping documents from the Wedgwood factory indicate that trade with Boston was occurring, and sets of molded tea wares have been found archaeologically in other northern sites, including Fort Michilimackinac, in Michigan.⁵ The fact that many of these wares were sent to the West Indies for disposal in the mid-1760s may explain the number of occurrences in the South, as the southern colonies maintained a stronger relation with the West Indies through familial and business ties, as discussed in the section on maritime trade.

The idea of marketing goods to a specific region may not have been new, but it was certainly advanced by Josiah Wedgwood and his colleagues. His savvy about supply and demand probably reflected contemporary economic thought, but he was quick to take advantage of the shifts. When it became evident that a London address would enhance sales, Wedgwood opened sales rooms there. Wedgwood and/or his business associates are listed in the London city directories for 1763 and 1766.⁶ In letters to Bentley, Wedgwood comments that there were people who would be willing to buy "cheap wares" even though creamware was ultimately more elegant. He also outlines his intention to

⁵ Ivor Noël Hume, *Pottery and Porcelain at Colonial Williamsburg*, Colonial Williamsburg Archaeological Series No. 2 (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, [1978]), 27; J. Jefferson Miller, *Eighteenth-Century Ceramics from Fort Michilimackinac; A Study in Historical Archaeology* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1970.)

⁶ Robin Reilly, *The Dictionary of Wedgwood* (Woodbridge (UK): Antique Collector's Club, 1980), 387.

raise the price of Queensware to emphasize its importance - at least until it became popular, then lower the price so that the middle class could afford it.⁷ It should be noted that like other commodities, the ceramics industry only supported overpricing for a short period. Wedgwood is noted as having said that the "great people" had had vases in their palaces long enough for the middle class to see and want them. He foresaw that the "middling" class, superior in numbers to the great, would be the next logical market for his wares - and lowered the prices to meet their economic capabilities.⁸ This understanding of people and their consumer behavior led Wedgwood and others to successful ventures in the ceramics business. It was more than just throwing clay and burning pots; the pottery business was a microcosm of the social and economic complexity which was developing in England and the colonies in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

Maritime Trade

The residents of Charleston were part of a broader commercial network which impacted the style, quantity and cost of British goods imported into the South Carolina low country. If sales of rice and indigo were slow, that could delay the arrival of the latest ceramics styles from Europe, just as the return of a family member from England could infuse the port town with the hottest items. Strong social and political ties with England also helped to create an environment which was as much British as it was American, allowing - and sometimes requiring - the upper class to "keep up" with the

⁷ David Buten, and Jane Perkins Clancey, *Eighteenth Century Wedgwood: A Guide for Collectors and Connoisseurs* (New York: Main Street Press, Methuen, Inc., 1980), 19.

⁸ Thomas, *Staffordshire Potteries*, 130-31.

latest fashions as part of their status.⁹ Visitors reported that Charleston was more elegant than the major cities in other colonies. The upper class dined graciously, and their houses were fashionably decorated. The ceramics used in Charleston were essentially the same as other cities, though distribution may have tended slightly toward the higher end of the economic spectrum.

Ceramics imported into Charleston were heavily influenced by the fluctuations in other imported and exported goods. While earthenwares and porcelains might have captured a handsome price on the retail market, they were not necessarily a primary import to Charleston in the eighteenth century. The weight of ceramics was high when compared to the risk and cost of shipping, considering the level of breakage which might occur on any given voyage. In addition to the loss of income from spoiled cargoes, owners had to pay high rates of insurance, further raising the cost. For example, in 1764, merchant Henry Laurens lost 10 casks of earthenware and another ten casks of "Yellow ware" (possibly yellow lead glazed slip-decorated wares) due to breakage during shipping; these were then sold for £4 to £5 (approximately \$32-40 in 1996 dollars)¹⁰ - far below market value for the wares.¹¹

Shipments of ceramics were infrequently listed in ship's manifests or customs records, and even then the details were minimal. One cargo might include "18 crates of

⁹ Louis B. Wright, *Cultural Life of the American Colonies* (New York: Harper, 1957), 19.

¹⁰ Walter Edgar uses this equivalency standard for the eighteenth century in his book, *South Carolina: A History*. His scale is based upon the work of John McCusker in, "How Much is That in Real Money? A Historical Price Index used as a Deflator of Money Values in the Economy of the United States," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, 101, pt. 2 (Oct. 1991):297-373.

¹¹ Philip M. Hamer, ed. *Papers of Henry Laurens* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1968).

earthenware,” or “21 baskets of earthenware.” In a sampling taken from January 1763 to December 1764, only 8 of the 120 entries in inbound shipping logs contained any reference to ceramics and of these, only two revealed any significant detail, those being 8 dozen milk pans from the *Fair Lady*¹² and 6 chamber pots shipped on the *Betsey*.¹³ Yet, despite meager evidence for ceramics in import records, information about the ceramics market might be inferred from the details of trade from other commodities traveling between Charleston, Europe, and the West Indies.

Shipping lists for major imports and exports (potentially those items for which duties would be collected) exist for the port of Charleston for much of the eighteenth century. Details of weight, unit and price can be found in naval lists and customs records. In a landmark study of Charleston port statistics completed in 1984, Converse Clowse analyzed 50 years of these import and export records to the southern port, attempting to synthesize them into a comprehensible and useful set of data.¹⁴ Viewed as a whole, the numbers may seem inconclusive; but when broken down by commodity, we see a market driven by the tension between the need to sell Charleston’s products and the desire to maintain a steady supply of British goods to the colonies. This supply and demand tug-of-war influenced Charleston style by affecting the choice of ports, the choice of ships and the rhythm of shipping between the colonies, England, and the West Indies.

¹² Public Records Office. Shipping register, *Fair Lady*, schooner from Boston, January 28, 1763. Owners: Isaac Smith and John Law. *Secretary of State, Recorded Instruments, Ships registers, County of Charleston, 1734-1780*. On file at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia.

¹³ Public Records Office. Shipping register, Schooner *Betsey*, January 1763. *Secretary of State, Recorded Instruments, Ships registers, County of Charleston, 1734-1780*. On file at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia.

¹⁴ Converse Clowse, *Measuring Charleston’s Overseas Commerce, 1717-1767. Statistics from the Port’s Naval Lists* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1981).

England's Commercial Core

The capital city of London captured a large part of the Charleston export trade in the 1760s, accepting an average of 20-30% of rice shipments to England.¹⁵ This was due in part to the increasing commercial and banking network developing in London during the latter half of the eighteenth century.¹⁶ As an influential political and financial force in the years prior to the American Revolution, London attracted those colonists who were interested in maintaining close ties to the English economy, including merchants, plantation owners, lawyers, statesmen, etc., all of whom stood to benefit from London's growth. Charleston's links with London were even more direct, as children of Charleston families were sent to English schools to obtain their education.¹⁷ The letters of Eliza Lucas Pinckney and Henry Laurens describe the effect that this had on the family relationships and often on the social or financial status of the family.¹⁸ The children kept their families and friends up to date with news and market information, and when they returned to Charleston, they brought the news of the *au courant* back to the Low Country, making Charleston as "British" as many of her northern neighbors.

The economic development in the colonies did not escape the scrutiny of England's potters. As the colonial market improved, so too did the export trade in ceramics. Potters sought better and faster ways to meet the increasing demand from England, her allies, and the colonies. They lobbied for better roads and encouraged a

¹⁵ Clowse, *Commerce*, 59, 70.

¹⁶ John McCusker, *The Economy of British America, 1607-1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 335-36.

¹⁷ Elise Pinckney, *Letterbook of Eliza Lucas Pinckney* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1997), 74.

¹⁸ Hamer, *Laurens Papers*, 139 and Pinckney, *Letterbook*, 74,

new system of canals and highways, bringing English ceramics to the doorsteps of England's elite, while simultaneously improving the transportation of goods to the West Indies and American colonies (Figure 1.1).¹⁹ The potters sought out the best market for their goods, moving to larger cities, with many eventually moving their trade to London. There fashionable pottery showrooms sprang up as meeting places for the city's upper class, ensuring a steady market for the enterprising potter/merchant.



Figure 1.1. Map of the proposed canal system between Liverpool and Hull c. 1771
(Courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford University)

¹⁹ Llewellyn Jewitt, *The Wedgwoods: Life of Josiah Wedgwood* (London: Virtue Brothers and Co., 1865), 167-171.

Other cities challenged London's status as the commercial center of England. Bristol engaged in heavy trade with the colonies, earning the reputation as one of the primary centers of trade with South Carolina before the Revolution. Ships from the western English port came either directly to Charleston, or traveled through the southern Spanish ports of Teneriffe or Cadiz, through West African trade centers, or through the fishing ports of the northeast colonies.²⁰ Charleston imported a wide variety of finished goods from Bristol, including textiles, copperwares, ironwares and glass.²¹ Bristol was also strategically located to capture a majority of the pottery exports prior to 1770.²² Merchants from Bristol furnished a broad range of ceramics to a large market, including delf, creamwares, and porcelain; personal letters reveal that Josiah Wedgwood struck up a business relationship with merchant Thomas Bentley of Bristol in 1764, leading to one of the most profitable pottery export businesses of the time. Charlestonians also maintained a profitable trade link with Bristol. John Guerard's correspondent Thomas Rock cornered the Bristol trade for Charleston when he took over the company of Bristol shipping merchant William Jefferies in 1758;²³ Henry Laurens' letters also indicate that he kept his hand in the Bristol market well into the 1770s. Despite the economic positioning between London and Bristol, ships from Charleston found their way to other British and continental ports as well. The small town of Cowes, located on the Isle of

²⁰ Walter Minchinton, "Richard Champion, Nicholas Pocock and the Carolina Trade," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 65:87-97.

²¹ Kenneth Morgan, *Bristol and Atlantic Trade in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: University Press, 1993), 89.

²² Leila Sellers, *Charleston Business on the Eve of the Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1934), 9.

²³ R.C. Nash, "Trade and Business in Eighteenth Century South Carolina: The Career of John Guerard, Merchant and Planter," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 96 (January 1965): 15.

Wight near Portsmouth, was the relay point for the market in northern Europe. “To Cowes and a Market” was a familiar phrase as nearly 60,000 barrels of rice and more than 5000 pounds of indigo were funneled through the English port from Charleston between 1760 and 1767.²⁴

Charleston business relationships helped to determine the distribution of goods through European ports. The town of Poole was a frequent destination of ships sponsored by John Guerard, partially encouraged by his partnership with the English merchant William Joliffe in 1748. As a channel for goods to northern Europe, the port at Poole was strategic in redirecting much of the Carolina crop in the 1750s and 1760s.²⁵

The western port town of Liverpool engaged in specialized trade with Charleston during this period. From 1762 to 1763, Liverpool was home port to more than 60% of the ships transporting slaves to Charleston. In conjunction with their involvement in the slave trade, Liverpool ships and merchants conducted a small portion of the trade in rum and sugar from the West Indies to Charleston, and were also responsible for a token shipment of bread and flour in the late 1750s. Ceramic wares from “Liverpule” were also listed in shipments and inventories throughout the 1760s, indicating that ships were also arriving from Liverpool with ceramics aboard.²⁶

Liverpool was one of four major export terminals for ceramics in the 1760s (Figure 1.2). Along with Bristol, London, and Hull, it served as a conduit for the pottery market to Europe and the colonies.

²⁴ Clowse, *Commerce*, 59, 70.

²⁵ Nash, “John Guerard,” 14.

²⁶ *South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal*, Charleston, 28 January 1766, 2-2.

England and the Potteries in the 1760s



Figure 1.2 Map of England showing location of major ports and pottery centers.

The ware in these Potteries is exported in vast quantities from London, Bristol, Liverpool, Hull and other seaports to our several colonies in America and the West Indies, as well as to every port in Europe. Great quantities of flint stones are used in making some of the ware which are brought by sea from different parts of the coast of Liverpool and Hull; and the clay for making the white ware is brought by water up the rivers Mersey and Weaver to Winsford in Cheshire; those from Hull up the Trent to Willington; and from Winsford and Willington the whole are brought by land carriage to Burslem. The ware when made is conveyed to Liverpool and Hull in the same manner as the materials are brought from these places.²⁷

The role of Liverpool as a primary ceramics port is also noted in Wedgwood's business records after 1766, when his showroom sales in London were supplemented by shipments to the colonies by way of his agent in Liverpool.²⁸

Dramatic fluctuations in commodities during the 1760s were the result of shifts in trade policy as Britain and the colonies began to vie with one another for greater control of the export market. The volatility of the political and economic relations between England and her colonies provided the impetus for colonial merchants to find alternatives for their good, both imports and exports. Although Charleston merchants were generally content to receive goods from England, there was a gradual increase in intra-colonial trade throughout the mid-eighteenth century.²⁹ Bread, flour, corn, rum, molasses, and other agricultural commodities were shipped from Boston, Philadelphia and New York in great quantities.

With the increase in imports from the north, locally-produced ceramic wares from New England (primarily coarse earthenwares) began to infiltrate the ceramics market in

²⁷ Ann Finer and George Savage, eds., *Selected Letters of Wedgwood* (New York: Born and Hawes, 1965), 24.

²⁸ Reilly, *Dictionary of Wedgwood*, 42-43.

²⁹ Clowse, *Commerce*, 44-45.

Charleston during the latter half of the 1700s. Slip-decorated wares similar to pottery exported from Philadelphia exist in Charleston Museum archaeological collections,³⁰ and archaeological samplings from the Judicial Center site reveal black-glazed earthenwares which are similar to those earthenwares found in the Boston (Charlestown) area in the 1760s.³¹

Charleston and the West Indies

While the relations between Charleston and England accounted for the majority of the export trade from Charleston, the islands of the West Indies also enjoyed a favorable trade with the southern port. Following trade patterns cast from a West Indian mold in the seventeenth century, Charleston merchants never forgot their social and economic roots and maintained strong ties with their island neighbors to the southeast.

From its early settlement, Charleston was tied inextricably with the West Indies, having been born of the plantation culture in the Caribbean.³² These relationships were formed during the 1600s, when experienced planters from the Indies were recruited to establish Low Country plantations. They continued in the early part of the eighteenth century, when island plantation families sent sons and daughters to the Low Country to establish themselves as planters and merchants in the growing Carolina market. Names like Middleton, Whaley, Perry and Lucas were found in both Charleston and the West

³⁰ Personal communication, Martha Zierden, Charleston Museum; also, Carl Steen, "Pottery, Intercolonial Trade, and Revolution: Domestic Earthenwares and the Development of an American Social Identity," *Historical Archaeology* 33 (Fall 1999): 62-71.

³¹ Lyra Woodside Watkins, *Early New England Potters and Their Wares* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950), 7; Steen, "Domestic Earthenwares," 62-71; personal communication, Susan Travis, New South Associates, May 1999.

³² Judith Bense, *Archaeology of the Southeastern United States: Paleoindian to World War I* (San Diego: Academic Press, 1994), 188.

Indies,³³ emphasizing the strength of the economic and social ties between the two colonial centers. British traders with connections to the West Indies also settled in Charleston, establishing ties to the families of Nathaniel Russell, Benjamin Smith, and the Savages. The new Carolinians are said to have exhibited cultural patterns more like the Caribbean colonies than their northern counterparts.³⁴

These familial relations translated into business for the colonies, as goods were shipped between Charleston and the West Indies, and business partnerships established while in the Caribbean were extended to the new Carolina trade. An excellent example can be seen in the relationship established by Charleston ship owners and merchants Thomas and William Savage, who co-owned the brigantine "Savage" with William Dickenson and John Young from Bermuda.³⁵ Their 1764 cargo included earthenware, shoes, mirrors, and haberdashery - finished goods from Britain being exported to Charleston via Bermuda. These ties to the West Indies stayed viable throughout the 1760s and helped to predict at least a portion of Charleston's economy.

Charleston's Main Crops

The Soil in general [is] very fertile, and there is very few European or American fruits or grain but what grow here... The Turkeys [are] extremely fine, especially the wild, and indeed all their poultry is exceeding good; and peaches, Nectrons and melons of all sorts extremely fine and in profusion, and their Oranges exceed any I ever tasted in the West Indies or from Spain or Portugal....The staple commodity here is

³³ Sellars, *Charleston* (1934), 4-5.

³⁴ Jack P. Green, "Colonial Carolina and the Caribbean Connection," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 88 (1989): 192-210.

³⁵ Public Records Office. Shipping registers, Brigantine *Savage*, November 14, 1764. *Secretary of State, Recorded Instruments, Ships registers, County of Charleston, 1734-1780*. On file at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia.

rice and the only thing they export to Europe. Beef, pork and lumber they send to the West Indies.³⁶

The scope and direction of Charleston's burgeoning agricultural market influenced the trade patterns between the Low Country and England. The development of a rice economy in Charleston established a strong relationship with the West Indies, and may have channeled a higher percentage of goods to the South Carolina Low Country, including ceramic wares, which were intended for the island trade. Charleston planters were aware of the influence of their crops on the market, and went to great trouble to find agricultural ventures which would allow them to become a part of the fluid British trade.

When early settlers to the Low Country were experimenting with crops for export, they realized that they would have to select those staples which could not be grown in England to avoid competing with their benefactors. Crops like grapes, olives, indigo and oranges were tried, but only a few withstood the sub-tropical growing season of the South.³⁷ Of the items attempted in Charleston, rice became the money crop for many South Carolina planters after 1705. The Low Country was an excellent environment for rice production, with its seemingly unlimited supplies of water, excellent transportation, and an easily obtainable source of manpower. Rice was a staple crop which could be shipped with few problems, and it did not compete with the British export trade. By the second half of the eighteenth-century rice commanded the greatest share of the export market, delivering nearly 60,000 barrels a year to Great Britain and the West Indies (Figure 1.3).³⁸ It is worth noting, however, that not all barrels of Carolina rice went to the

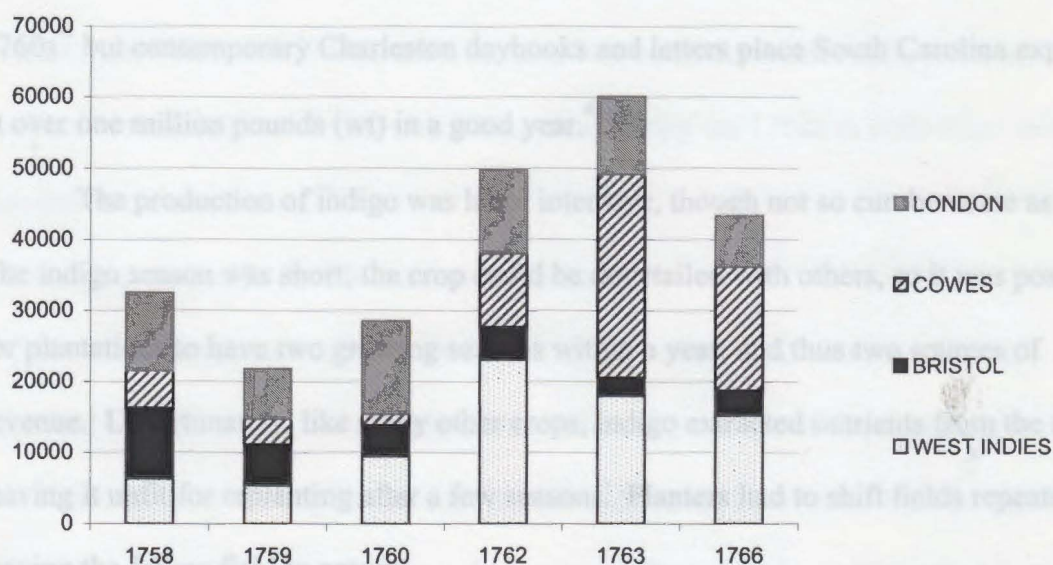
³⁶ Pinckney, *Letterbook*, 40.

³⁷ Edgar, *South Carolina History*, 132-133.

³⁸ Sellers, *Charleston Business* (1934), 43.

commercial center of London. While London and Bristol were the largest importers of rice until 1760, other British towns pulled their share of Charleston exports as well. Smaller ports which drew their share of the exports included Gosport, Portsmouth and Poole in southern England, Glasgow to the north, and Liverpool to the west. In 1763 it was the southern port of Cowes which dominated the market with almost 28,000 barrels of rice.³⁹

Figure 1.3. Charleston Rice Exports (1758 - 1766)



In 1762, the market leader was not in Britain, but the West Indies. Between 1760 and 1762, West Indian rice imports from Charleston went from 9,500 barrels to 23,000 barrels. As a comparison, corn exports to the Indies from Charleston increased from 9,000 in 1761 to 41,500 in 1762.⁴⁰ It is possible that growing island populations required larger quantities of staple crops. Carolina rice was supplied to plantations in the West

³⁹ Clowse, *Commerce*, 59-60.

⁴⁰ Clowse, *Commerce*, 91.

Indies, along with other items such as barrel staves, tar, and pitch. Items such as salt, corn, and bread were imported to Charleston from other ports and then reshipped to the islands. This increase in the West Indian trade continued throughout the 1760s.

Another important export from Charleston during the pre-Revolutionary era was indigo. Grown on Low Country plantations, this plant produced a blue dye which could be extracted then shipped to ports throughout Europe for use in manufacturing cloth and other goods. By the 1740s, Carolina indigo exports were considered as good as if not better than the French variety. Clowse lists only 1700 pounds of indigo shipped in the 1760s⁴¹ but contemporary Charleston daybooks and letters place South Carolina exports at over one million pounds (wt) in a good year.⁴²

The production of indigo was labor intensive, though not so cumbersome as rice.⁴³ The indigo season was short; the crop could be dovetailed with others, so it was possible for plantations to have two growing seasons within a year, and thus two sources of revenue. Unfortunately, like many other crops, indigo extracted nutrients from the soil, leaving it unfit for replanting after a few seasons. Planters had to shift fields repeatedly, leaving the fallow field to nature.

The exportation of indigo was not always a dependable source of income because of competition with European and Asian crops. In the Caribbean, Montserrat was one of the top exporters. As English production of cloth increased through advancing technology, the market for dyes, especially indigo, grew. Yet, while indigo increased in

⁴¹ Clowse, *Commerce*, 70.

⁴² Pinckney, *Letterbook*, xix.

⁴³ Pinckney, *Letterbook*, xviii-xix.

popularity through the mid-eighteenth century, its success was relatively short-lived. The trade finally dropped off by the 1790s and was no longer viable after the mid-1800s.

In addition to rice and Indigo, Charleston merchants exported deerskins, tar and pitch, turpentine, lumber, staves and shingles, some of which were shipped in from Georgia and North Carolina. Ships carried leather, tobacco, and raw silk to England, as well as pork and beef, and hemp.⁴⁴ Before the introduction of indigo, deerskins ranked second in exports. In the 1750s, over 50,000 pounds (wt) of deerskins were shipped out of Charleston. Even in the 1770s, deerskins still accounted for 10 percent of the export market from Charleston.⁴⁵ This trade in skins was much dependent upon relations with the Native American residents, which fluctuated during the 1760s as inter-tribal alliances threatened trade relations.⁴⁶

The Impact of Trade on the Ceramics Market

While there appears to be little evidence of a direct link between styles of imported ceramic wares and specific commodities shipped out of Charleston, it is clear that fluctuations in the import and export trade did impact Charleston's market in other ways. The most obvious influence is the positive effect of trade on the available credit or cash available for the purchase of imported goods. Charleston's economic system produced a class of consumer who could well afford the imported Chinese porcelain, creamware, or salt-glazed stoneware that found its way into Charleston's harbors. This

⁴⁴ Francis Bradlee, *Colonial Trade and Commerce* (Salem, MA.: The Essex Institute, 1927), 13.

⁴⁵ McCusker, *The Economy of British America*, 183-4.

⁴⁶ Leila Sellers, *Charleston Business on the Eve of the American Revolution* (New York: Arno Press, 1970), 173-176.

disposable income created purchasing patterns which might not have existed in areas of more repressed economies.

The dependence of Charleston upon the English market required that the importation of ceramic wares be based on those which were accessible to the English consumer. While the best ceramics may not have been shipped to the colonies first, they did eventually arrive, and were eagerly purchased by the colonial consumers. When trade patterns shifted between London, Bristol, and Liverpool, the ceramics market flexed as well, as evidenced by probate listings of Liverpool china and the archaeological remains of delftware from London and Bristol.

Relations with the West Indies may also have influenced the types of ceramics found in Charleston. Letters from Wedgwood indicate that certain types of wares, the green and gold glazed earthenwares, were shipped to the Indies when their popularity had waned in England and on the Continent.⁴⁷ These wares are found in the probate inventories and archaeological excavations of the southern mercantile centers, including Charleston, Savannah and Williamsburg, while they do not appear to be as prevalent in New England colonies.⁴⁸

While a direct correlation between imported ceramic types and Charleston's exports may not be achievable because of the paucity of detailed shipping records, it is evident from the other historical and archaeological data that business and familial

⁴⁷ Finer and Savage, *Selected Letters*, 58.

⁴⁸ Personal communication, Martha Pinello, archaeologist, Strawberry Banke Museum, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, November 1996; Museum collections from the Old York Historical Society and the Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts; Geoffrey Moran, *Archaeological Investigations at the Narbonne House: Salem Maritime National Historic Site, Massachusetts* (Boston, MA: Division of Cultural Resources, North Atlantic Regional Office, National Park Service, U.S. Dept. of the Interior, 1982); Alaric Faulkner, *Port and Market: Archaeology of the Central Waterfront, Newburyport, Massachusetts* (Newburyport, MA: Newburyport Press, 1978).

connections, along with the dynamics of the Charleston and British export markets, produced a complex market of ceramics which allowed Charlestonians to furnish their tables with all manner of ceramics. The following chapter reveals the breadth of this ceramic market, including the forms and types of ceramics which found their way into the colonies in the 1760s.

The number and types of ceramic wares available to Charlestonians changed dramatically in the 1760s. The development of more refined earthenwares and the simultaneous shift to mass-production of ceramics allowed a diversity previously unknown in the pottery industry. Archaeological and documentary evidence indicates that during the 1760s, wares from every ceramic category found their way into Charleston harbor (Figure 2.1).²⁸ Earthenware, porcelain and stoneware were used in Low Country households, each serving a unique social or utilitarian function. In Charleston's economically driven social hierarchy, ceramics would eventually become synonymous with class.

The emerging Charleston elite sat on a unstable throne in the years prior to the Revolution. Having obtained their wealth through shipping or plantations, upper class Charlestonians may have felt threatened by a middle class anxious to improve their position. In an effort to establish a stricter social hierarchy, Charleston's elite adhered to a complex set of rules of "respectability."²⁹ These included extravagant rules of dining etiquette, perfection of the tea ceremony, etc.³⁰ Good manners and appropriate behavior

²⁸ Archaeological and documentary evidence is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4.

²⁹ Rodney R. Roth, "Tea Drinking in Eighteenth Century America: Its Etiquette and Significance," in *Material Culture in America* (ed. Thomas J. Schlerch (Nashville, Tenn.: American Association for State and Local History, 1987), 409-462.

Chapter 2

CERAMICS IN CHARLESTON: 1760-1770

The number and types of ceramic wares available to Charlestonians changed dramatically in the 1760s. The development of more refined earthenwares and the simultaneous shift to mass-production of ceramics allowed a diversity previously unknown in the pottery industry. Archaeological and documentary evidence indicates that during the 1760s, wares from every ceramic category found their way into Charleston harbor (Figure 2.1).⁴⁹ Earthenware, porcelain and stoneware were used in Low Country households, each serving a unique social or utilitarian function. In Charleston's economically driven social hierarchy, ceramics would eventually become synonymous with class.

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⁵⁰ Rodris Roth, "Tea Drinking in Eighteenth Century America: Its Etiquette and Equipage," in *Material Culture in America* ed. Thomas J. Schlereth (Nashville, Tenn.: American Association for State and Local History, 1982), 439-462.



Figure 2.1 Three major categories of ceramics: porcelain, stoneware, and earthenware.

became so important that recipe books began to include discourses on table settings, and guides to good behavior were written for the aspiring young gentleman or gentlewoman.⁵¹ Some historians have proposed that this increasing formality, and the developing social structure, were part of a broader attempt to maintain a hold on their world through increasing discipline and order.⁵² This formalization of the dining experience led to a need for more complex tables and teawares.

and Local History, 1982), 439-462.

⁵¹ See George Washington, *Rules of Civility and Decent Behaviour in Company And Conversation* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1926).

⁵² Paul Shackel, "Town Plans and Everyday Material Culture: An Archaeology of Social Relations in Colonial Maryland's Capital Cities," in *Historical Archaeology of the Chesapeake*, ed. Paul Shackel and B.J. Little (Washington D.C., Smithsonian, 1994).

In the 1760s, Low Country formal dinners included several courses, often with more than one type of meat present, plus local fruits, grains and vegetables. This type of elaborate presentation needed to be framed with a suitable dinnerware, and Charleston merchants worked hard to keep the most elegant tables filled with Chinese porcelain tablewares, white salt-glazed stonewares, and eventually, fine English-made creamwares. By the 1760s, upper class households used the coarser earthenwares only in the kitchen or on the tables of their servants. Charlestonians of lower economic status still utilized the less costly wares ("delf" or tin-glazed wares, coarse earthenwares, and some stonewares) but archaeological evidence suggests that they were able to obtain some of the finer wares for "special occasions," perhaps for guests or afternoon tea.⁵³

Whether chosen for their utility or for an associated status, each type of pottery served a distinct role in the Low Country culture. Within each of these groups a series of stylistic and technological characteristics enables us to define specific ceramic types. The decorative style and technical aspects of the various types are discussed herein, providing some insight into Charleston's ceramic style of the 1760s.⁵⁴

Earthenwares

The largest category of ceramics identified in both documentary research and archaeological investigations is earthenwares. Charleston inventories and shipping documents are replete with references to "one lott earthenware," but few details are provided. Letter books from merchants are equally unrevealing about the Charleston

⁵³ Martha A. Zierdan, Elizabeth Reitz, Michael Trinkley and Elizabeth Paysinger. *Archaeological Excavations at McCrady's Longroom* (Charleston, South Carolina: The Charleston Museum, 1982).

⁵⁴ The classification of ceramic artifacts used in this chapter is derived from taxonomies of eighteenth century ceramics found in the following volumes: J. Jefferson Miller, *Eighteenth-century Ceramics from Fort Michilimackinac*; David Barker, *William Greatbatch, A Staffordshire Potter* (London:

market for specific wares. For example, in letters written between 1760 and 1767, Henry Laurens makes references to crates and hogsheads of earthenware, but tells us little about the color or style of the wares. Only in five references during this period did he shed light on the ceramics market. "Yellow ware" was mentioned four times, usually in reference to the inability to sell the goods. This was in all likelihood the English combed and dotted slipware, which sported red slip decorations and a golden yellow lead glaze (Figure 2.2), or an early form of Staffordshire creamware. Another of Laurens' letters references "Liverpoole" china, confirming that trade with Liverpool was occurring, but little historical or archaeological evidence which pinpoints the factories which were exporting china to the colonies at this time.⁵⁵

Historically, earthenwares were made in a variety of styles and forms. The term "earthenware" was first documented as being used in the fourteenth century referring to the "wares made from earth" (*ollas terrea*).⁵⁶ The wares themselves date back to Roman times, when they were called "samian"



Figure 2.2. Combed and dotted slipware cup

wares.⁵⁷ These earthenwares are traditionally porous ceramics made with a low-fired clay body and glazed with a clear or opaque glaze. By the eighteenth century, British earthenwares included coarse red earthenwares as well as refined tin-ash glazed and clear

Jonathan Horne, 1991); and South, *The Search for John Bartlam*.

⁵⁵ Haïmer, *Laurens Papers*, 96, 237.

⁵⁶ Josiah Wedgwood and Thomas Ormsbee, *Staffordshire Pottery* (New York: R. M. McBride, 1947).

lead-glazed earthenwares.⁵⁸ While the history of earthenwares is extensive, our discussion will be limited to those types available for purchase in mid-to-late eighteenth-century Charleston as seen in probate and archaeological evidence.

Coarse earthenwares

One of the oldest forms of ceramics found in the Low Country is the group of coarse earthenwares. First brought to the Carolina coast by Spanish and French settlers in the sixteenth century, coarse earthenwares originally had a utilitarian function – storage, transportation, and food preparation.⁵⁹ By the eighteenth century, they appeared in the form of mixing bowls and milk pans in colonial kitchens. Earthenware “jars” held oil and lard. Clay flowerpots held spices or posies.⁶⁰ Some vessel forms were unglazed; others were defined by intricate sgraffito carving or by detailed slip decoration. When lead glaze was used, it ran from a clear glaze, which turned dark yellow in firing, to the green of the copper glaze or the deep black/brown of the glaze infused with magnesium. While these were not expensive wares in the mid-eighteenth century, their presence in households of all economic levels reveals their practicality and disposability within the society. On many seventeenth- or eighteenth-century archaeological sites, a preponderance of coarse, red-bodied earthenwares presents itself in the archaeological

⁵⁷ Reilly, *Wedgwood Dictionary*, 360.

⁵⁸ Llewellyn Jewitt, *The Ceramic Art of Great Britain* (Poole: New Orchard Editions Ltd., 1985), 80-85.

⁵⁹ Stanley South and Chester DePratter, *Discovery at Santa Elena: Block Excavation 1993* Research Manuscript Series 222 (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1996), 37-43.

⁶⁰ Ceramic flower pots, cream pans, and storage containers found in Charleston archaeological contexts are curated in the archaeological collections of the Charleston Museum.

record, while finer earthenwares and chinawares are less common.⁶¹ This could be true for several reasons. Perhaps redwares were used more frequently and subsequently were broken more often. Redwares may have been more prevalent in the eighteenth-century home than porcelain and stoneware, so the archaeological numbers may be reflecting volume rather than usage patterns. Another possibility rests in the disposition of ceramic types in the household. When a coarse red milk pan broke, it was usually thrown out the kitchen door or into a privy, but when a Chinese porcelain dish broke, it was mended for later use, or placed in a strategic position in the china cupboard for visual effect. Probate lists mention "old" or "broken" china in the details (as seen in Appendix A), while a similar listing for earthenwares does not appear. The personal inventory of Lillias Moubray, taken in May 1765, includes repaired items in porcelain and stoneware, but not redwares:

1 coffee mill 1 sugar box 2 tea cannisters 5 stone plates &
 1 cracked ditto 2 small dishes 1 broken d^o 1 mustard pott
 1 small delf bowell 1 milk pott 1 Black tea potts
 1 d^o sugar dish no cover 4 china cups d^o cracked
 & 2 broke saucers 1 glass salt⁶² (sic)

Advertisements for china menders throughout the late eighteenth century further testify to the recycling behavior exhibited on behalf of refined wares:⁶³

⁶¹ See Noël Hume, *Guide to Colonial Artifacts of North America* (New York: Vintage Books, 1991); Watkins, *Early New England Potters*; and Martha Zierden, Jeanne A. Calhoun and Elizabeth Paysinger, *Archaeological Excavations at Lodge Alley, Charleston, South Carolina* (Charleston: The Charleston Museum, 1983).

⁶² Public Records Office. Probate inventory of Lillias Moubray, 24 May 1765. *Secretary of State, Recorded Instruments, Inventories of Estates (WPA transcripts) 1692-1779*. Charleston County. On file at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History.

⁶³ Examples of ceramic artifacts that have been mended are described in detail in Rich Goring, "European Ceramics in 17th and 18th Century New York." *The Bulletin and Journal of Archaeology for New York State* 80-81 (1980-81), 12. See also Brad Rauschenberg, "Ceramic Menders and Decorators in Charleston, South Carolina, Before 1820," *Journal of the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts*, XVII (November 1991), 115-116

MARIA WARWELL

Intending shortly to depart this province, desires all persons to whom she is indebted, to bring in their accounts in order to be paid; and requests the favour of those indebted to her to make immediate payment: And while she waits for passage, will be much obliged to those who will employ her, in mending in the neatest and most durable manner, all sorts of useful and ornamental china, viz. beakers, tureens, jars, vases, bust's; statues, either in china, glass, plaster, bronze, or marble; should a piece be wanting, she will substitute a composition in its room, and copy the pattern as nigh as possible--N.B. She lives near Mrs. Wright's place on the Hard, Trott's Point.⁶⁴



James Rutherford, a regular-bred gold and silversmith, just arrived from Edinburgh, makes and mends all kinds of plate, and other work in his business, after the best and newest fashions. He likewise works in jewelry and clasps broken china in the neatest manner, which is a work never done here before.⁶⁵

The relative cost and availability of coarse red earthenwares determined their "disposability" level and thus their life span within the Charleston household. Coarse red earthenwares were initially shipped into the colonies from England, but eventually began being produced by American potters. There appeared to be intra-colonial trade in redwares, as evidenced by the reference to eight-dozen milk pans being imported to Charleston from Boston in 1764,⁶⁶ and several shipments of earthenware

⁶⁴ *South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal*, Charleston, SC., 21 July 1767. Reference on file at the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, Winston-Salem, NC.

⁶⁵ *South Carolina Gazette*, Charleston, SC., Feb 22, 1752. Reference on file at the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, Winston-Salem, NC.

⁶⁶ Public Records Office. Shipping register, *Fair Lady*, schooner from Boston, Jan. 28, 1763. Owners: Isaac Smith and John Law. *Secretary of State, Recorded Instruments, Ships registers, County of Charleston, 1734-1780*. On file at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia.

from Philadelphia.⁶⁷ Colonial potters became a primary source for utilitarian earthenwares as potworks sprang up in the clay-rich regions of Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia.⁶⁸ Northern potteries thrived in the mid-eighteenth century, while there were few southern potters identified (Table 2.1).

Table 2.1 Southern Potters (1730 – 1800)⁶⁹

Andrew Duche	1730s	Savannah, GA	
Bowen, Samuel	1745-1760	Savannah GA	lead glazed
Gossman, Henry	1745-1760	Savannah GA	earthenware
Grenier, Andrew	1745	Purrysburg	lead glazed
Hershinger, John	1745	Saxegotha	redware
Landrum, John	1754	Chatham Co., NC	lead glazed
Adams, John	1755	Salisbury, NC	lead glazed earthenware
Aust, Gottfried	1755-1771	Bethabara/Salem, N.C.	utilitarian redwares
Landrum, Samuel	1755-1816	Chatham Co., NC	lead glazed
Craven, Thomas	1760-1817	Randolph Co. NC	lead glazed
Morr, Michael	1761-1771	Salisbury NC	lead glazed
Bartlam, John	1763-1781	Cainhoy, Charleston SC	earthenware, porcelain
Godlieb, John	1764-1769	Craven Co. SC	lead glazed
Berroth, Henry	1775-1825	Rowan Co.,	
Lessley, William	1770	Charleston	china painting

Carl Steen's research into intra-colonial trade reveals that Philadelphia potters were sending earthenwares to the southern colonies during the 1760s and early 1770s, including lead-glazed earthenwares and slip-decorated wares which have subsequently turned up in Charleston archaeological investigations (see Figure 2.3).⁷⁰ Steen's suggestion that wares were imported from Philadelphia has been substantiated by

⁶⁷ Public Records Office. Shipping registers, 1762-1764. *Secretary of State, Recorded Instruments, Ships registers, County of Charleston, 1734-1780*. On file at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia.

⁶⁸ John Ramsay, *American Potters and Pottery* (New York: Tudor Publishing, 1947), 39-81.

⁶⁹ Howard Smith, *Index of Southern Potters* (Mayoden, N.C.: Old America Company, 1986).

⁷⁰ Steen, "Pottery," 62-71.

shipping records from the period, which list earthenwares being imported in ships coming from Philadelphia.⁷¹

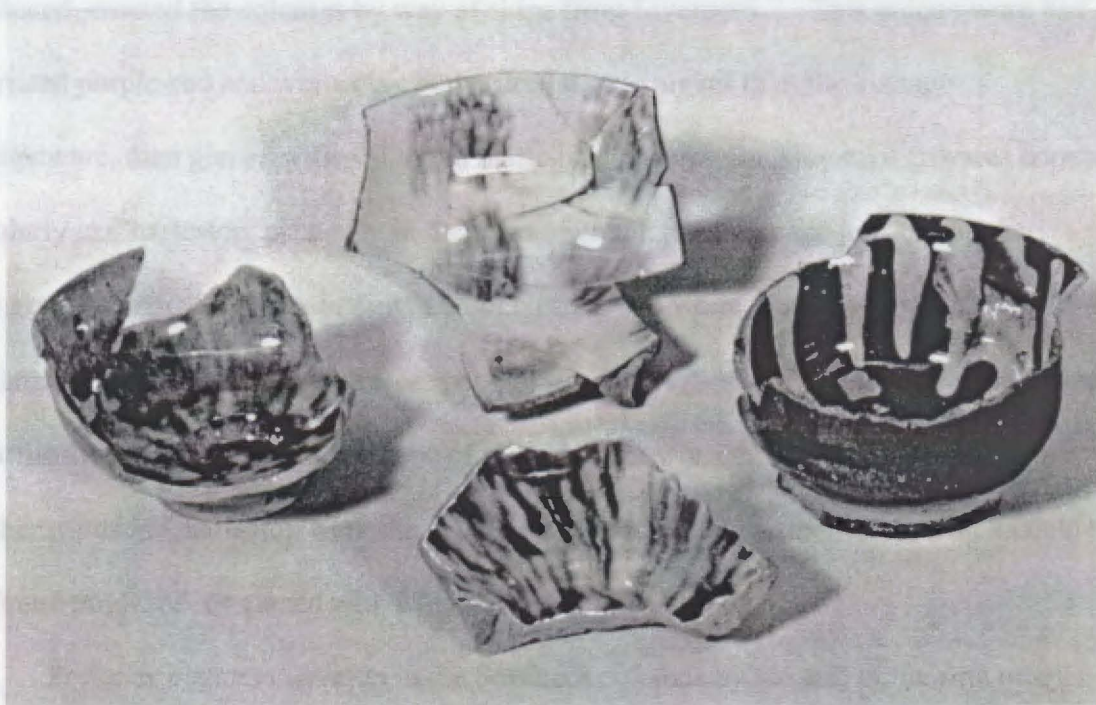


Figure 2.3 Lead-glazed slip-decorated earthenwares from Charleston archaeological sites

The generic utilitarian pottery of the 1760s had a buff to red clay body, which was very porous, with glazes ranging from clear yellow to green to dark brown. It could be plain, incised, or decorated with a thin clay mixture called “slip.” Based upon archaeological evidence, these wares were found in a variety of forms, including pans, plates, flower pots, bowls and baking dishes.⁷²

Earthenwares found on eighteenth-century Charleston sites include North Devon

⁷¹ Public Records Office. Shipping registers, 1762-1764. *Secretary of State, Recorded Instruments, Ships registers, Charleston County 1734-1780*. On file at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia.

⁷² Examples of these wares are found in the collections at the Charleston Museum. See also Elaine Herold and Darcy F. Morey, *Historical Archaeological Report on the Meeting Street Office Building Site, Charleston S.C.* (Charleston: Charleston Museum, 1981), 49-50.

gravel-tempered wares, Buckley wares, red or green lead-glazed wares, slip-decorated ceramics. Buckley Ware, named for the North Wales pottery district in which it was produced, entered the colonies by way of ships from Liverpool.⁷³ This unique ware had a striated purple-red and white clay body, fired a little higher than the average earthenware, then glazed with a shiny to matte black glaze. Buckley earthenwares appear regularly in Charleston, primarily in the form of cream pans, storage jars and pitchers. The gravel-tempered wares, imported from North Devonshire, began being imported in the late seventeenth century and were popular until the 1790s.⁷⁴ These included plain and sgraffito-decorated wares in the shape of milk pans, bowls, etc. The bulk of the earthenwares in Charleston were the undecorated red-bodied earthenwares, which could be found unglazed, or glazed with a lead-based coating.

Potteries began to develop in the Southern colonies by the end of the first quarter of the century. While evidence of earlier English pottery sites has not been found, it is possible that a small cottage industry existed where local potters were making wares from the rich coastal clays in the Carolinas and Georgia.⁷⁵ Another possibility is that instead of creating new potteries, colonists were using wares made by Native-American or African-American potters to supplement the import market in this early period; these locally-made redwares occur in both plantation and urban archaeological contexts in the low country.

The first of the documented potters was Andrew Duche, who established a

⁷³ Noël Hume, *Colonial Artifacts*, 133.

⁷⁴ Exhibit text, Potteries Museum and Art Gallery, Hanley (Staffordshire), England.

⁷⁵ Archaeological evidence of a sixteenth-century pottery kiln has been found by Stanley South and Chester DePratter at the Spanish colonial site of Santa Elena, near present-day Beaufort, South Carolina. Such evidence points to the viability of pottery manufacture in the colonies.

potworks in Savannah as early as the 1730s; other potteries were established in Savannah, Georgia and in Purrysburg and Saxegotha, South Carolina by 1745.⁷⁶

Beginning in 1755, Moravian potters in Bethabara provided coarse red earthenwares for the central Carolina market (Figure 2.4),⁷⁷ as did the earthenware potters of Chatham County, North Carolina. Large pottery centers existed in Peabody and Danvers,

Massachusetts, just north of Boston,

where, by the end of the 1760s, nearly 70 potteries made a variety of plain and lead-

glazed earthenwares.⁷⁸ Several potters from the Piscataqua River region north of Boston were producing black-glazed earthenwares with a "rich, almost black glaze which

covered the redware body." Evidence of wares of this nature has been recently found at

the Judicial Center site in Charleston.⁷⁹ Earthenwares created by these colonial potters may have trickled into Charleston in the 1760s, but unless they were uniquely marked or specifically referenced in documentary evidence, it would be difficult to determine which



Figure 2.4. Moravian pottery at Old Salem

⁷⁶ Howard Smith, *Index of Southern Potters*, 71-90.

⁷⁷ Stanley South, *Discovery in Wachovia* (New York: Kluwer/Academic Press, 1999), 188-191; John Ramsay, *American Potters and their Pottery*, (New York: Tudor Publishing, 1947); John Bivins, *The Moravian Potters in North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972).

⁷⁸ Watkins, *New England Potters*, 62-73.

⁷⁹ Personal communication, Susan Travis, New South Associates, May 1999.

of the potters made them (Figure 2.5).

In addition to the locally made or imported red earthenwares, another type of coarse utilitarian ceramics can be found in the Charleston market in the 1760s. Identified by Ivor Noël Hume as “Colono-Indian ware,” these wares could be found in Charleston kitchens and in slave quarters throughout the Low Country.

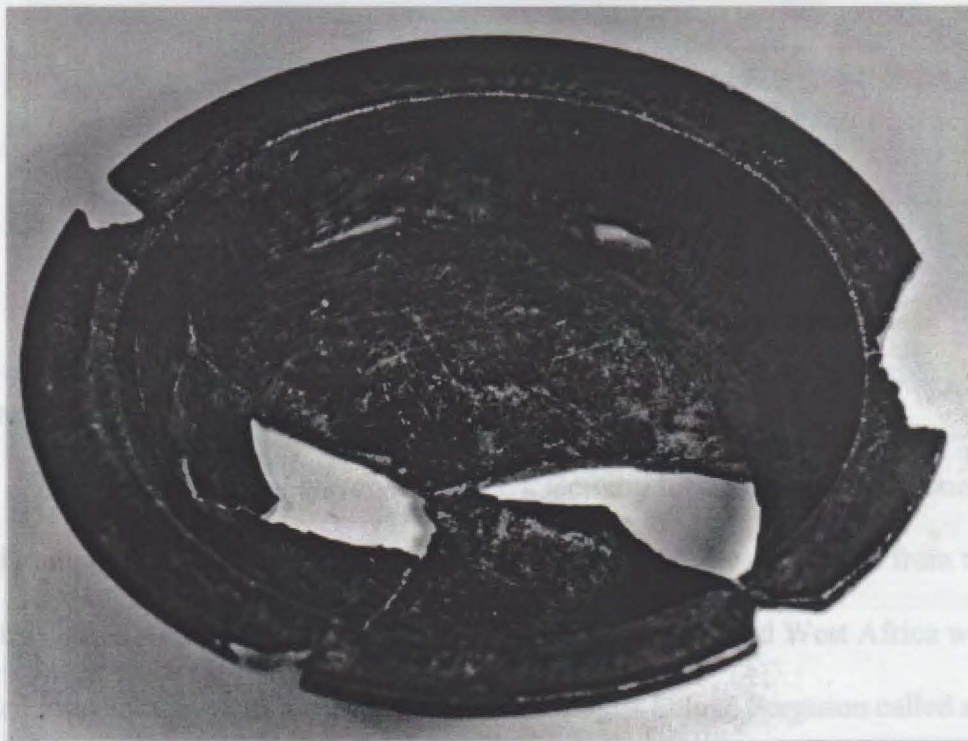


Figure 2.5 Lead-glazed red-bodied earthenwares were the utilitarian ceramics for many Low Country homes
(Photo courtesy of Charleston Museum)



Figure 2.6 Example of colono ware vessels found on Charleston plantations.
(Photo courtesy of Charleston Museum)

Colonoware

The introduction of slavery to the Low Country brought a new component to the already-complex cultural mix in the ceramics market. Ceramics traditions from the Low Country Native Americans and the slaves from the Caribbean and West Africa were blended into a new type of pottery, which archaeologist Leland Ferguson called simply “Colono Ware.”⁸⁰ The use of this colono ware, described as a locally made African-American or Native American ware, changed the distribution of ceramics on Charleston sites, particularly the coarser earthenwares (Figure 2.6). These wares mimicked the forms of Native American, African and European pottery traditions, and were found in Low Country kitchens and slave quarters, replacing the domestic or imported coarse

⁸⁰ Leland Ferguson, *Uncommon Ground* (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992),

earthenwares normally used there.⁸¹ While the cultural significance and use of colono ware is still being debated,⁸² its effect on the distribution of ceramics across the southern colonies cannot be ignored.

Tin-glazed wares

The term "delf" or "delph" ware was used to describe tin-ash glazed ceramics, which began to be imported to the colonies during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The name originally referred to the tin-glazed wares from Holland, but spread to include other western European countries. Other countries were producing these wares as early as the ninth century; they were known as *majolica* in Spain, *maiolica* in Italy, or *faience* in France. European tin-glazed ceramics have been found in French and Spanish colonial sites in South Carolina dating to the sixteenth century.⁸³ In the English colonies, however, the Navigation Acts of 1651 and 1660, as well as the non-importation proclamation of 1672 deterred imports from Holland, France, and Spain to English colonies until the ban was lifted in 1775, just prior to the Revolution.⁸⁴ Customs officials were ordered to seize and destroy wares imported from other European countries,

⁸¹ Thomas Wheaton, Amy Friedlander and Patrick Garrow, *Yaughan and Curriboo Plantations: Studies in African American Archaeology* (Atlanta: National Park Service, Southeast Regional Office, 1983). See also Martha Zierden et al., *Initial Archaeological Testing: the Nathaniel Russell House* (Charleston: The Charleston Museum, 1995), 95, and *Back House/Big Lot* (Charleston: The Charleston Museum, 1996), 99; Jeffrey Gardner and Eric Poplin, *Wappoo Plantation* (Atlanta: Brockington and Associates, 1992), B-2; Elaine Herold and Darcy Morey, *Historical Archaeological Report on the Meeting Street Office Building Site, Charleston S.C.* (Charleston: The Charleston Museum, 1981), 74, and Elaine Herold, *Archaeological Research at the Exchange Building, Charleston, S.C.: 1979-1980* (Charleston: The Charleston Museum, 1981), 83.

⁸² Bense, *Southeastern Archaeology*, 284, 291; Theresa Singleton, *I, Too, Am America: Archaeological Studies of African American Life* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999).

⁸³ Stanley South, *Archaeology at Santa Elena: Doorway to the Past*. (Columbia: South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, [1992]); Chester DePratter and Stanley South, *Discovery at Santa Elena: Boundary Survey*, Research Manuscript Series 221 (Columbia: South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, 1995).

reducing the number of wares available for sale to colonial customers.⁸⁵ Historical documentation and archaeological records indicate, however, that some Dutch residents of Charleston were successfully importing delft from northern Europe,⁸⁶ and evidence of Rouen faience and other European tin glazed pottery exists in colonial contexts for the 1760s.⁸⁷

As a result of the aggressive non-importation policy established by the British government, the majority of tin glazed wares found in Charleston prior to the Revolution are from English potteries. Tin-ash pottery may have come to Charleston from a variety of pottery centers. The English cities of London, Lambeth, Bristol, and Liverpool were major exporters of the ware in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.⁸⁸

These wares varied slightly in color and shape. Many of the "delf" potters were attempting to emulate the increasingly popular Chinese porcelain. They created a white-glazed ware with *chinoiserie* designs and floral motifs. Each pottery center had a unique set of identifying traits. London wares prior to 1680/1690 were often glazed pure white, some with a pinkish tone to the glaze. Lambeth earthenwares had a glaze which was thick and lumpy with a greenish blue tint, which tended to "craze," or crack. The glaze on Bristol delft was often a light lavender color. The Bristol potters also had trouble developing a red overglaze color (emulating the red overglaze-enameled porcelains)

⁸⁴ Noël Hume, *Colonial Artifacts*, 14.

⁸⁵ Noël Hume, *Colonial Artifacts*, 141.

⁸⁶ Ivor Noël Hume, *Pottery and Porcelain from Colonial Williamsburg*, Colonial Williamsburg Archaeological Series No. 2 (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1973), 12.

⁸⁷ Archaeological collections from Cainhoy, the Charleston Museum and the Charleston Judicial Center site contain a number of European pottery types. The question remain whether these wares were being brought into Charleston for sale, or whether they were brought as part of the personal goods of immigrants.

which would effectively blend with the tin glaze, causing the red to "stand out" both visually and physically.⁸⁹

While individual factories may have produced unique designs or color schemes, these "delf" wares generally had the same characteristics. Tin ash produced an opaque glaze which hid the buff- to pink-colored body, making the ceramics appear white or gray.⁹⁰ The surface could then be decorated with blue and white designs which mimicked Chinese porcelain (Figure 2.7), or bright polychrome overglazes with popular motifs and sayings. While some potteries continued to produce these wares until 1790, the market was significantly reduced by the 1760's, with purchases made primarily in the form of tablewares and punch bowls.

Refined redwares

The earliest lead-glazed refined earthenwares were red-bodied earthenwares coated with a lead glaze. Around 1740, English potters began to produce wares made with a finely turned red clay body, approximately 0.5cm in thickness, covered with a lead glaze which ranged from clear yellow to opaque black.⁹¹ The clear-glazed refined red earthenwares have been referred to as Astbury-type wares, named after the celebrated Staffordshire potter, John Astbury. Traditionally the term was used for those decorated with white sprigs made of kaolin clay.⁹² Refined wares with the black glaze were called

⁸⁸ Noel Hume, *Colonial Artifacts*, 109-110.

⁸⁹ Noel Hume, *Colonial Artifacts*, 110.

⁹⁰ The thick glaze never bonded completely with the porous clay body of the "delf" wares, causing excessive crazing or flaking off. The archaeological remains of these wares are often denuded, or have minimal glaze coverage, and may appear to be unglazed bisque sherds.

⁹¹ Noel Hume, *Colonial Artifacts*, 123.

⁹² Noël Hume, *Pottery and Porcelain*, 35.

"Jackfield" wares, so named for the pottery of origin.⁹³ The Jackfield-type wares were being produced by potters in Shropshire, as well as those in Staffordshire, including Josiah Wedgwood and Thomas Whieldon. The true Jackfield wares had a thick, lustrous black glaze, some with low-relief decoration (Figure 2.8); they could also be found trimmed with gold.⁹⁴ While other potters managed to accomplish the blackness of the Jackfield glaze in their wares, they could not reproduce the luster or viscosity of the original glaze. The true Jackfield body was a deep red bisque, though a wide range of clay bodies can be found in Jackfield clones. The black-glazed earthenware was the first of the earthen teawares to engage the colonial market in the 1740s, and was still a viable commodity in the 1790s.⁹⁵

Fine lead-glazed cream-colored earthenwares

Production of fine cream-colored lead-glazed ceramics began in Europe in the early eighteenth century. Around 1725, Thomas Astbury found that by mixing ball clay from West County with the lighter burning local clays from Fenton Calvert, and adding calcined flint, he could produce a hard, white stoneware which could be salt-glazed. Using the same clay body at a lower temperature, he produced a white bodied earthenware.⁹⁶ Enoch Booth later refined this clay body by mixing the finely washed local clay with clays from Dorset and Devonshire.⁹⁷ Soon, potters began to create

⁹³ Noël Hume, *Colonial Artifacts*, 123.

⁹⁴ Personal communication, Bradford Rauschenberg, Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, Winston-Salem, NC, March 1998.

⁹⁵ Gardner and Poplin, *Wappoo Plantation*, B-1.

⁹⁶ G. Bernard Hughes, *English and Scottish Earthenware 1660-1860* (London: Abbey Fine Arts, 1961), 104.

⁹⁷ Hughes, *Earthenware*, 104.

colorful earthenwares, often using the same forms seen in salt-glazed pottery.⁹⁸

These early wares were glazed with a natural sulfite of lead known as "smithum" or "galena" to local potters. The glaze was yellow or brownish glaze as a result of the iron content in the clay or glaze. The glaze was later refined by using calcined lead, which produced a colorless high-gloss glaze that penetrated the clay body better.⁹⁹ The use of lead glaze was enhanced dramatically by the creation of liquid glaze, which was patented by Thomas Frye in 1749.¹⁰⁰ Ann Warburton of Hot Lane made further improvements to the glaze in 1751.¹⁰¹ Potters added splashes of colored underglazes made from copper, manganese, cobalt and lead to provide a "mottled" or "tortoiseshell" look to the surface, referred to as "clouded" wares in some documents (Figure 2.9). It is interesting to note that a series of earthenwares and porcelain wares from China had similar glaze combinations of gold and green tortoiseshell glazes streaking their bowls and urns.¹⁰² There may be a stylistic connection between these lesser-known wares from the seventh century Tang Dynasty and the tortoiseshell wares produced by the eighteenth century English potters.

The early cream-colored earthenwares were very successful, and for a period, the tortoiseshell glaze was very popular. But potter Josiah Wedgwood, understanding the volatility of the market, began looking for improved glazes to use on molded and cream-

⁹⁸ Ivor Noel Hume, "The Rise and Fall of English white salt-glazed stoneware, Part II," in *English Pottery and Porcelain*, ed. Paul Atterbury (London: Peter Owen, 1980), 24.

⁹⁹ Wedgwood and Ormsbee, *Staffordshire Potter*, 37.

¹⁰⁰ Hughes, *Earthenware*, 105.

¹⁰¹ David Buten and Jane Clancey, *18th Century Wedgwood* (New York: Main Street Press), 18.

¹⁰² He Li, *Chinese Ceramics: a New Comprehensive Survey from the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco* (New York: Rizzoli, 1996), 95-100.

colored wares. His 1759 experiment book details a new green glaze which was much advanced over the previous recipes.¹⁰³ It had the brilliance of emeralds and perfect clarity. Wedgwood also developed a golden yellow glaze to be used on the newly developed botanical forms, such as melon and pineapple wares, which were being created by William Greatbatch and other modelers in Staffordshire in the 1750s (Figure 2.10).¹⁰⁴ These green and gold wares lasted until well into the 1770s, when the better-known "creamware" or "Queensware," made popular by Josiah Wedgwood, began to be mass-produced and stole the hearts of English and colonial consumers.

Figure 2.7. The glazed "delf" pottery from Bristol, England.

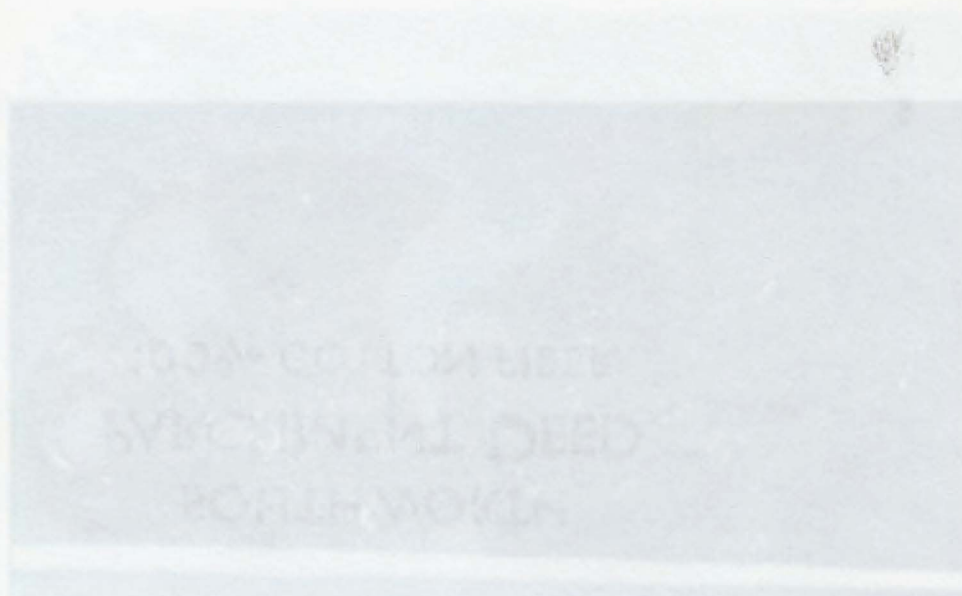


Figure 2.8. Refined "Jackfield"-type earthenware.

¹⁰³ Wolf Mankowitz, *Wedgwood* (London: Spring Books, 1966), 29.

¹⁰⁴ Barker, *Greatbatch*, 20.



Figure 2.7. Tin glazed “delf” pottery from Bristol, England.



Figure 2.8. Refined “Jackfield”-type earthenwares.



Figure 2.9. Whieldon-type earthenware teapot produced in Staffordshire c 1765.



Figure 2.10. Whieldon-Wedwood type pineapple ware teapot made in Staffordshire, England (1760-1765).

Mass production

In the 1760s pottery production shifted from a popular cottage industry to a profitable manufacturing venture. Whereas earlier potworks consisted primarily of small clusters of buildings and a single kiln, in the 1760s production was increased and factories expanded to accommodate more potters and their helpers. Josiah Wedgwood was one of the innovators of this new manufactory system. In 1759, he left his position at Thomas Whieldon's factory to open his own pottery, "Ivy House," owned by two of his cousins. He worked quickly to create a new system of production that was more streamlined, moving towards uniformity and speed of production. Whereas the earlier Wedgwood wares bore hand tool marks and had a sense of uniqueness about them, the later wares became more sterile and "interchangeable."¹⁰⁵

The new wares developed by Wedgwood were accepted readily, despite complaints about the lack of individuality;¹⁰⁶ the market in Charleston became one of the primary importers of these new wares. Just five years after the development of Wedgwood's green glaze, the 1764 inventory of merchant William Wilson of Charleston lists green plates, pickle dishes, and molded wares ("coleflower" (*sic*) and pineapple) which were created concurrent with the development of the new glaze and the new factory system.¹⁰⁷ Similar wares were still in use in 1766, when Andrew Verdier's inventory lists "4 Green Fish dishes, 1 Green Salad Bowl and Dish, 2 Small Green Fish

¹⁰⁵ Hughes, *Ceramics*, 106.

¹⁰⁶ A. H. Church, *Josiah Wedgwood: Master Potter* (London: Seeley and Co., Ltd., 1903), 15-16.

¹⁰⁷ Public Records Office. Probate inventory, William Wilson, November 15, 1764, *Secretary of State, Recorded Instruments, Inventories of Estates, Charleston County (WPA transcripts) 1692-1779*. On file at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History.

Dishes and 1 Doz. Do plates," totaling £ 5.05.0 (Approximately \$40.00 in twentieth century equivalents).¹⁰⁸

Despite the popularity of these new ceramics, Wedgwood was not satisfied with the quality of the cream-colored wares. In 1763, he improved the cream-colored glaze by making it almost colorless, and enhanced the earlier creamware body by reducing the size of the temper and by adding whiter clays.¹⁰⁹ He immediately set out to make his the most highly sought-after ware on the market. The new cream-colored ware was dubbed "Queensware" after Wedgwood completed a successful campaign to get a set of the wares sponsored by the Queen. Wedgwood and his contemporaries aggressively marketed it to all economic levels throughout the remainder of the eighteenth century.¹¹⁰

The Production Process

The earliest creamware pieces were turned on a wheel, as evidenced by a heavier clay density and by trail marks on the surface. Some designs, such as the pineapple or cauliflower wares, had molded exteriors and turned interiors, suggesting that the molds could have been placed upon the wheel and the clay pressed into the mold and turned inside.¹¹¹ The introduction of molding technology early in the 1700's allowed more intricate designs. Vessels could be made by pressing the clay into separate sectional molds, allowing the clay to dry leather hard, then placing the pieces together using

¹⁰⁸ Public Records Office. Probate Inventory, Andrew Verdier, 1766. *Secretary of State, Recorded Instruments, Inventories of Estates, Charleston County (WPA transcripts) 1692-1779*. On file at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History.

¹⁰⁹ Buten and Clancey, *Wedgwood*, 18.

¹¹⁰ Buten and Clancey, *Wedgwood*, 18-19.

¹¹¹ Examples of press-molded ceramics excavated at the William Greatbatch pottery site can be found in the archaeological collection, The Potteries Museum and Art Gallery, Hanley, U.K. The thin rings

liquefied clay (or *slip*). Potters of the early eighteenth century also could use molds to create delicate clay decorations which were added to the thrown bodies.¹¹²

By the 1750s, a portion of earthenware ceramics produced in England was being "slip cast," a process by which liquefied clay was poured into plaster molds. Ralph Daniel of Cobridge, who had been working in France, introduced the plaster of Paris molds to English potters in 1745.¹¹³ This new plaster compound made of selenite or "gypsum,"¹¹⁴ absorbed water from the slip, allowing the clay body to dry enough to separate easily from the mold. Simeon Shaw also reports that English potters may have been using a modified method of casting, where they would pour liquified clay into the mold, pour off the excess, let the layer dry to leather consistency, then pour *another layer*, thus building the thickness gradually without having to struggle with issues of consistency in the clay slip.¹¹⁵

The slip-casting process produced ceramics which were lighter, cheaper to produce, and easier to make. The obvious difference in clay density between turned and cast wares makes it relatively easy to distinguish one from another. Economically the lighter wares could prove advantageous because of their reduced shipping weight, thus reducing the excise duties on each shipment. That advantage would be offset by their fragility, perhaps costing more in damages. Later slip cast wares incorporate the

produced by turning the mold on the wheel can still be seen on the interior surface of the wares.

¹¹² Michelle Erikson, pottery demonstration, "English Ceramics in America (1720 - 1860), Historic Eastfield Foundation, June 25-27, 1999. Albany, New York.

¹¹³ Wedgwood and Ormsbee, *Staffordshire Pottery*, 32.

¹¹⁴ Simeon Shaw, *History of the Staffordshire Potteries* (1829) (Great Neck, N.Y.: Beatrice C. Weinstock, reprint 1968), 163.

¹¹⁵ Geoffrey Wills, *Wedgwood* (Secaucus, N.J.: Chartwell Books, 1989), 19.

discovery of "deflocculants," silica compounds which increased homogeneity and viscosity of the slip without additional fluids; this produced a drier clay body, thus allowing more frequent use of the plaster molds.¹¹⁶ Slip casting was still an experimental technique in the 1760s, but apparently the lack of deflocculants did not preclude use of slip-cast technique in eighteenth century potteries; however, the number of wares produced was relatively small.

Creamwares

By the 1760's, potters were mass-producing refined earthenwares, particularly those made popular by potters from Staffordshire and Liverpool in the earlier part of the decade. The cream-bodied earthenwares included pale yellow lead-glazed "cream-colored" wares, as well as those accented with copper and manganese underglazes.¹¹⁷ Potters were producing fine table and teawares which could be low-fired in the kiln at a lower cost, then painted, enameled, and colored with a variety of metallic oxides - thus increasing its versatility in color and form. From Charleston to Portsmouth, as these new ceramics entered the market, they found a place on the shelves of colonial retailers. Charlestonians bought "molded" and "clouded" wares, and delighted in plain creamware bowls, turned mugs, and dishes with molded rim designs.

A number of pottery centers began to produce the fine cream-colored earthenwares. Each potter or group of potters seemed to have a unique style, creating the perception of regional identities in ceramics styles. Examples of this can be seen in the ceramics produced by Liverpool potters, which could be easily distinguished from the

¹¹⁶ David Barker, personal communication 2/19/99 and 3/1/99.

¹¹⁷ Description of the range of cream-colored wares can be found in Donald Towner, *Creamware*, (London: Faber and Faber, 1978).

wares of other regional potteries because of their unique baluster-shape and their bright overglaze enameled colors. During the same period, potters at Leeds produced elegant wares with sprig decorations and intricate rouletting; bead and reel, pearl, and dentil trims were produced on forms reminiscent of the silver trade.¹¹⁸

After 1763, there seems to be more detail provided in probate records, and perhaps more variety in the type and form of ceramics found. For the first time these records contain references to "fish" dishes, "faces" (molded, decorative wall figures) (see Figure 2.11), chocolate cups, pickle leaves, etc. This

corresponds with what is sometimes referred to as a

"shift" from the useful to the ornamental.¹¹⁹ Even

Wedgwood refers to some of his new ceramic wares

utilizing these terms. Generally, before the 1770s, Josiah

Wedgwood described his wares as useful - tablewares,

teawares, etc. He began production of ornamental

ceramics (such as urns, vases, "faces," etc.) after 1764,¹²⁰

but did not vigorously pursue the ornamental trade until

the next decade.



Figure 2.11 Tortoiseshell "face"

Examples of ornamental wares appear as early as 1763 in advertisements: The *Friendship* brought "china and china images," while Captain Seager from Bristol

¹¹⁸ Donald Towner, *Leeds Pottery* (London: Cory, Adams and Mackay, 1963), 26-32.

¹¹⁹ George C. Rogers, "Changes in Taste in the Eighteenth Century: A Shift from the Useful to the Ornamental." *Journal of the Museum of Southern Decorative Arts* (May 1982): 1-20.

¹²⁰ Reilly, *Wedgwood*, 440.

imported “stone faces and horns for flowers” in the *Joseph*.¹²¹ The probate records of William Wilson included “faces” as part of his shop inventory.¹²² While these are early examples of the shift to ornamental wares, it is easy to see that the colonial market was ready to absorb whatever stylistic trends were being embraced by Europe. Wedgwood celebrated with the advent of this new trend by introducing a line of ornamental black basalt wares.¹²³ Though porcelain potworks had long been providing decorative wares to the market, the wholesale acceptance of these forms by the stoneware and earthenware potters had not been accomplished. It was finally the economic advantage of producing the ornamental wares that convinced the business-like potters to manufacture wares which were strictly decorative.

Some potters, like Wedgwood took advantage of the shift to the ornamental and appealed to consumers with a new line of ceramic wares, emulating classical and Egyptian images. The “Grand Tour” of Europe was becoming *de rigueur* for the well-heeled, and a classical education formed the core of a young person's studies. Recent discoveries in Greece, Italy, and Egypt were fanning the intellectual flames throughout Europe, and the “Classical Ideal,” as embraced by Adams and others in their ideology, were popular motifs in literature and art in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Wedgwood was familiar with this trend and embraced it heartily - to his financial gain. He knew that consumers would pay more for the ornamental wares, particularly if they

¹²¹ *South Carolina Gazette*, Charleston, 27 August 1763 (2-1) and 29 August 1763 (3-2).

¹²² Public Records Office. Probate inventory, William Wilson, November 15, 1764, *Secretary of State, Recorded Instruments, Inventories of Estates, Charleston County (WPA transcripts) 1692-1779*. On file at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History.

¹²³ Mankowitz, *Wedgwood*, 125-130.

represented other icons of their social standing. By the end of the 1760s, ornamental wares were being made and sold throughout England and the colonies.¹²⁴

The standards for marketing, production and the use of these wares were based upon centuries of experience. Their history is also tied to the next type of ceramics, the high-fired stonewares. The following section describes the versatility and availability of this important group of utilitarian and refined wares.

Stonewares

Stoneware was the “workhorse” of the ceramic world. Even though coarse red earthenwares existed in practically every household, the “stone” pot was more durable and ultimately more useful for a wider range of jobs. Crocks and churns, bottles, mugs and platters were turned from stoneware clays, producing heavy, durable containers. Stonewares imported from England and Germany in the 1600s provide the first datable ceramics in the colonies.¹²⁵

Examples of stonewares have been found in both documentary and archaeological investigations. Of the varieties found in Charleston in the 1760s, six major categories emerge: gray Rhenish stonewares, English brown salt-glazed, Nottingham wares, white salt-glazed types, red stonewares, and American-made gray-colored stonewares. These types vary in quantity depending upon the location and date of the occupation of the site, but appear to occur consistently in sites of similar date and economic status.

¹²⁴ References to Wedgwood’s marketing of ornamental wares can be found in Mankowitz, *Wedgwood*, George Rogers, “Shift in Taste,” and Finer and Savage, *Selected Letters of Josiah Wedgwood*.

¹²⁵ Noël Hume, *Colonial Artifacts*, 280.

Gray stonewares

Gray-bodied cobalt or manganese-decorated stoneware from the Westerwald region of the Rhineland, Germany,¹²⁶ appears in sites throughout the eighteenth century. These wares were imported to England between 1590 and 1772, and can be found in the forms of mugs, reeded-neck jugs, and chamber pots.¹²⁷ Rhenish gray stonewares have highly detailed stamped floral devices and geometric designs (Figure 2.12). Rhenish stonewares often have medallions indicating production for the English market: visages of George I (1714-1727) and George II (1727-1760) graced the sides of the Westerwald vessels during their respective reigns. However, fragments of gray stoneware similarly decorated have been found at the Potteries in Fulham and Staffordshire, indicating that there may have been some manufacture of this gray stoneware outside of Germany.¹²⁸

Westerwald stonewares appear archaeologically with a similar ware, the "American Gray" stoneware, which can often be distinguished by their casual decorative motif. These wares were decorated with designs, such as birds or abstract logos, drawn freehand in cobalt on the surface. American Gray stonewares, produced in the northeast and Chesapeake regions,¹²⁹ have a gray body similar to the Rhenish stonewares and are often difficult to distinguish without the decoration, and are frequently listed as "gray-bodied" stonewares or unidentified stonewares in artifact lists from archaeological sites.

¹²⁶ Richard F. Carrillo, *Green Grove Plantation: Archaeological and Historical Research at the Kinlock Site (38CH109), Charleston County* (Columbia: South Carolina Department of Highways and Public Transportation, 1980), 85-91; Herold, *Exchange Building*, 95.

¹²⁷ Noël Hume, *Colonial Artifacts*, 280; Stanley South, *Method and Theory* (New York: Academic Press, 1977), 210-211.

¹²⁸ Solon, *English Potter*, 13-23.

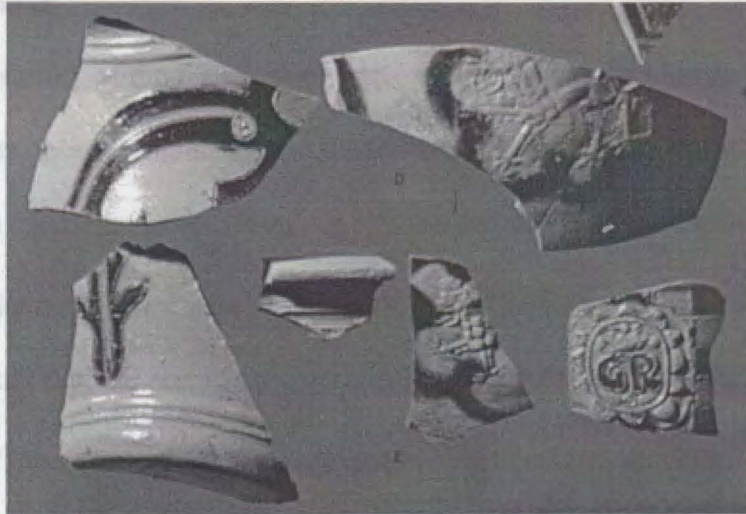


Figure 2.12. Fragments of Rhenish stoneware found in Charleston archaeological sites.



Figure 2.13. Brown salt-glazed stoneware mug which has been dipped in white pipe clay, then fired at high temperatures.

¹²⁹ William C. Ketchum, Jr., *American Stoneware* (New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1991), 47, 62, 86, 101.

Brown stonewares

The versatility of the brown stoneware, as well as its extended production and use, results in its occurrence throughout Charleston. Several types of brown stoneware can be found in Charleston sites (Figure 2.13). Stoneware attributed to Nottingham, England had a lustrous “chocolate” brown salt-glazed surface with incised details,¹³⁰ and was found in both probate records and archaeological evidence. Also found was the pale brown “crouch” stoneware from Burslem, produced from 1700 to 1775.¹³¹ This buff-colored stoneware had a greenish glaze and a dense paste, made vitreous by ferric oxide which intruded into the clay. Shapes were well constructed and finished on a lathe, only occasionally having additional parts such as legs or handles attached.¹³²

A stoneware developed by Ralph Shaw shows up in Charleston during this period. Shaw stonewares were chocolate brown with a white slip interior, salt-glazed overall.¹³³ Though chronologically quite early for the scope of this survey (they were manufactured between 1733 and 1750), these wares are occasionally found in archaeological deposits dating from the 1760s. Another early English stoneware type appears in archaeological contexts in Charleston; brown stonewares were imported from Fulham, where John Dwight and others were creating brown salt-glazed stonewares that emulated the Bellarmine jugs being imported from Germany in the late seventeenth century.¹³⁴

¹³⁰ Noël Hume, *Colonial Artifacts*, 114.

¹³¹ South, *Method and Theory*, 210

¹³² Solon, *English Potter*, 73.

¹³³ Solon, *English Potter*, 77.

¹³⁴ Jewitt, *Ceramic Art*, 89.

Red stonewares

A group of high-fired red bodied wares were imported to Charleston during the latter half of the eighteenth century. (Archaeologically, they have often been found in the same refuse pits with both refined and utilitarian wares.)¹³⁵ These red stonewares, which began being made by the Elers pottery in 1693, and which were marketed as *rosso antico* by Wedgwood in the 1760s,¹³⁶ were often found in forms and decorations which were clearly copied from Chinese stoneware vessels. The authentic Chinese red stonewares could be found made from blood-red, solid color clays, but could also be seen in the purple and white mottled clays of the Jiangsu or Yixing teawares of the mid-seventeenth century (Figure 2.14).¹³⁷ Examples of imported English red stonewares, as well as the Chinese wares, can be found in Charleston contexts (Figure 2.15).¹³⁸



Figure 2.14. Chinese red stoneware teapot in the Yixing tradition.

*Figure 2.15. Stoneware vessels from Charleston.
(Photo courtesy of the Charleston Museum.)*

¹³⁵ Personal communication, March 1999, Susan Travis, New South Associates, Stone Mountain, Georgia.

¹³⁶ Reilly, *Wedgwood*, 361.

¹³⁷ He Li, *Chinese Ceramics*, 312.

¹³⁸ Archaeological collections at the South Carolina Institute for Archaeology and Anthropology, Columbia, and the Charleston Museum, Charleston, South Carolina.

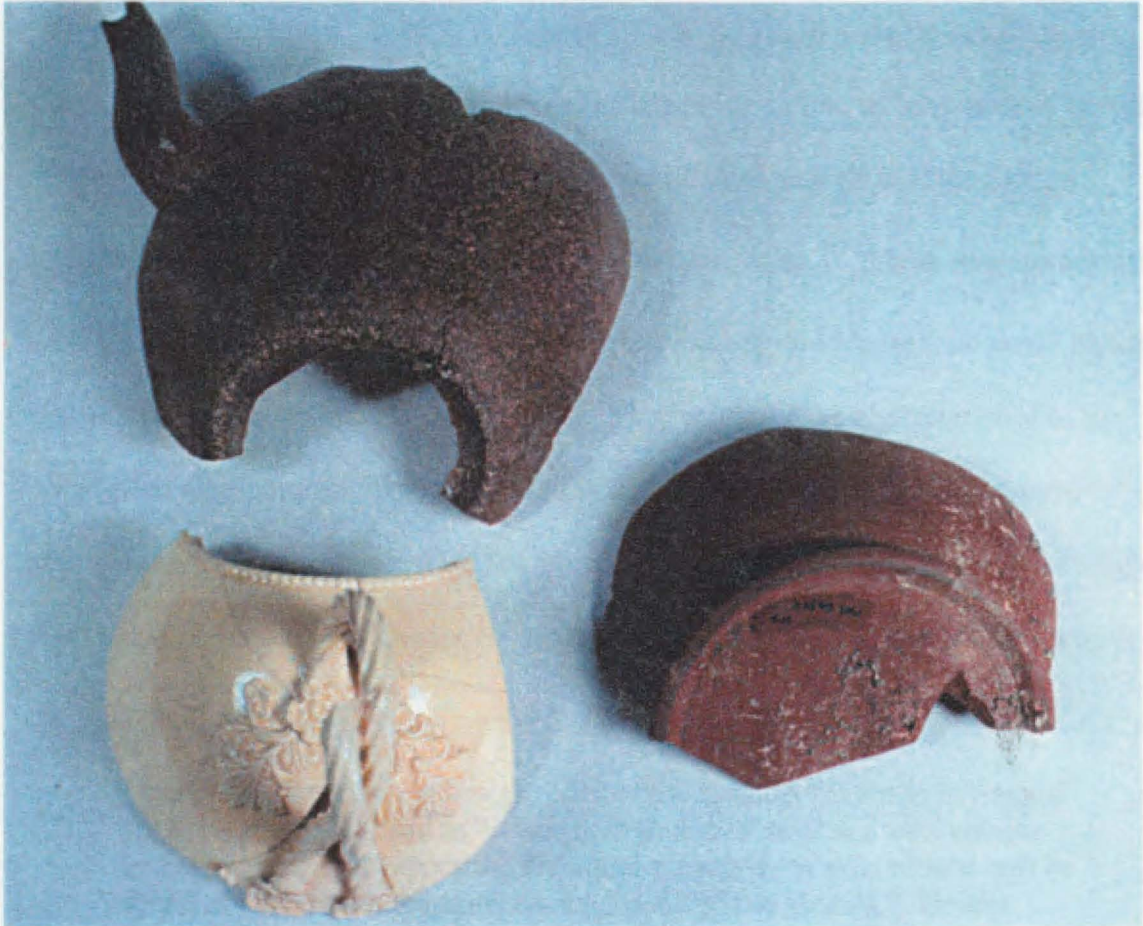


Figure 2.15. Stoneware vessels from Charleston.
(Photo courtesy of the Charleston Museum).

White salt-glazed stoneware

By the 1720s, stoneware potters were beginning to experiment with white clay bodies;¹³⁹ they perfected a refined white stoneware which had a thin high-fired body and salt-glazed “orange peel” finish (See figures 2.1 and 2.15). In addition to utilitarian wares, the new white salt-glazed wares began appearing in fine table wares and tea sets. Nineteen different types of wares could be found in white salt-glazed stonewares, including sprig-molded, engine turned, and agate-type wares.¹⁴⁰ These new stonewares were considered the “perfect pottery;”¹⁴¹ they were sturdy and elegant and could be used with silver, pewter, or other pottery vessels. They emulated the characteristics of the popular Chinese porcelain being imported in great quantities to England and were considerably cheaper. There were few problems with the thin stoneware body, though it was “apt to break with any change of temperature or sudden heat” according to a cook at the London Tavern:¹⁴²

Housewives were warned by the cook at the London Tavern to beware of pottery glazed with lead as “it was corroded with anything with vinegar and acid in it...on evaporating the liquor a quantity of salts of lead will be found at the bottom, the acids having dissolved the glazing.” He also warned against using fruit juices on delf plates. Chinese porcelain, he said, was the safest material, but too costly. Next came salt-glazed stoneware “which was not injured by acids, salts, or alkalies” but was apt to crack with any change of temperature or sudden heat.

¹³⁹ The first dated example of white salt-glazed stoneware dates to the 1720s. Noël Hume, *Colonial Artifacts*, 114.

¹⁴⁰ Solon, *English Potter*, 79.

¹⁴¹ Regina Blaczyck, “Ceramics and the Sot-Weed Factor,” *Winterthur Portfolio* 19 (Spring 1984), 7.

¹⁴² Jean Gorely, “Cream Color, Alias Queen’s Ware” in *English Pottery and Porcelain*, ed. Paul Atterbury (London: Peter Owen, 1980), 122-124.

By 1750 there were at least 60 factories producing the salt-glazed wares in Staffordshire.¹⁴³ Other pottery production sites include Jackfield, Leeds, Swansea, and Liverpool.¹⁴⁴ Refined salt-glazed stonewares were produced in white salt-glaze, Littler's blue, and "scratch blue" finishes. Scratch blue was white salt-glazed that was etched, then the lines filled with cobalt blue.¹⁴⁵ William Littler's name was associated with stonewares coated with a slip of cobalt blue then salt-glazed, known as "Littler's Blue."¹⁴⁶

Some factories also became known for specific forms. The basket pattern white salt-glazed stoneware attributed to potter John Baddeley of Hanley and the hexagonal cups, saucers, and teapots often associated with the Wedgwood potteries were just two examples of factory-specific forms.¹⁴⁷ It should be noted that specific attributions to a specific pottery are not always possible. In many cases, several factories were making the same form, even purchasing molds, taken from the same "block" or master mold, so it would be difficult to make a strong case for sole-source production of a design.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴³ Solon, *English Potter*, 83.

¹⁴⁴ Solon, *English Potter*, 83.

¹⁴⁵ Noël Hume, *Colonial Artifacts*, 118

¹⁴⁶ Noël Hume, *Colonial Artifacts*, 119.

¹⁴⁷ Wedgwood and Ormsbee, *Staffordshire Pottery*, 36.

¹⁴⁸ Personal communication with archaeologist David Barker, The Potteries Museum and Art Gallery, Hanley, U.K. November 1996.

Porcelains

The epitome of ceramic ware of the 1700s appears to have been porcelain, especially Asian export wares. Upon the exuberant display of Chinese porcelain in the royal porcelain cabinet at Oranienburg and Charlottenburg, and at Hampton Court by Queen Mary, Chinese porcelain became the item to be purchased, duplicated, emulated, and marketed throughout England and the Continent.¹⁴⁹ Its popularity in Europe guaranteed its favor with Charlestonians, whose buying style emulated the London market. Although Chinese porcelain was a steady part of the import market to Europe after the 15th century, the variety of wares available really began to expand in the 1700s. Likewise, the subsequent availability of European porcelains from France and Germany, and the eventual entry of England into the porcelain trade, expanded the market.¹⁵⁰

Chinese porcelain

Porcelain wares from China and Japan were imported into Charleston by way of England and the West Indies. Although the United States did enter the China Trade after 1784, exported goods were popular in the early colonies. The sixteenth-century sites of St. Augustine (Florida) and Santa Elena (near Beaufort, South Carolina) yield blue and white Chinese porcelain in the archaeological evidence,¹⁵¹ as do seventeenth century occupations at Jamestown, Virginia and St. Mary's City, Maryland. From its earliest

¹⁴⁹ Clare LeCorbellier, *China Trade Porcelain* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1974), 3.

¹⁵⁰ Noël Hume, *Colonial Artifacts*, 140.

¹⁵¹ Stanley South, Russell Skorownek, and Richard E. Johnson, *Spanish Artifacts from Santa Elena*, Anthropological Studies 7, Occasional Papers of the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1988), 283-289.

importation into the West, Chinese porcelain became a symbol of status and wealth for Europeans and colonists alike.

The story of the porcelain trade extends beyond style or finance: it includes the political, economic, and social dynamics between the East and the West during a period of conquest and expansion. Because of its beauty and translucence in a world of thick redwares and dull stonewares, Chinese porcelain established a new standard of excellence in ceramics for potters throughout Western Asia and Europe; yet it was also the prototype for economic development of ceramics industries around the world.¹⁵²

Before the introduction of trade, porcelain was produced primarily for the local market. The Chinese sought out the finer pure white porcelains for their own use, while simple designs of blue and white were produced for export, originally to the Middle East and later to the West.¹⁵³ The entry of profit-minded English and Dutch East India Companies into the trade equation changed the availability of goods. Prior to 1730, most of the exported pieces were traditional Chinese wares.¹⁵⁴ After 1730, company representatives and other traders began to ask for blue and white pieces to be created in European forms and motifs. Oriental forms were not as popular with the European trade, and English forms began being developed by Chinese potters. Traders negotiated with hong merchants to reproduce styles and forms.¹⁵⁵ The flat plate, handled cup, etc, were

¹⁵² Honey, *Pottery and Porcelain*, 43 and Haskell, *Middleton Privy*, 14.

¹⁵³ Colin Sheaf and Richard Kilburn, *The Hatcher Porcelain Cargoes* (Oxford: Phaidon-Christie's Limited, 1988), 14-20.

¹⁵⁴ LeCorbeiller, *China Trade Porcelain*, 7.

¹⁵⁵ The "hong" was the Chinese trade center through which the buyers or supercargoes negotiated. Each country had their own hong in the central commercial district at Canton, and could likely have their own agent through which trade had to be conducted. For further discussion of hong trade, see Carl Crossman, *Decorative Arts of the China Trade* (Woodbridge, Suffolk [England] : Antique Collectors' Club,

unfamiliar to the potters, so wooden vessels were sent along as examples or models to facilitate negotiations.¹⁵⁶ Likewise, specific instructions for pictorial elements were forwarded with the trader, so that Chinese artists could replicate English country scenes, heraldry, etc. on the sides of the porcelain. A new range of English-influenced wares was entering the market, designed in Europe and constructed in the traditional Chinese factories.

Trends in imported china wares fluctuated. As English politics and styles ebbed and flowed, so, too, did the wares imported from China reflect the *avant garde*. Examples of political and social motifs on China wares exist in many museum collections. One trend, the inclusion of family crests on porcelain tablewares, became popular after 1705 (Figure 2.16). In the early eighteenth century, Chinese porcelain with family crests was not *en vogue*; only three sets of this "armorial" china are known to exist which predate 1705. Between 1705 and 1800, over 5000 English and colonial families came to possess these specially ordered sets.¹⁵⁷ Even the style of the armorial pieces changed over time; for example, pieces before 1750 contained floral motifs, while those after 1750 sported tasseled scrolls. With each change, Chinese potters had to incorporate western style and culture into the increasingly complex market.

Gradually, European motifs infiltrated the Chinese export market. English landscapes and garden scenes were familiar sights on exported porcelain. Examples of Loyalist or Jacobite motifs still exist, a testament to the use of Chinese potters as

1991) and David Howard, *The Choice of the Private Trader: the Private Market in Chinese Export Porcelain Illustrated from the Hodroff Collection* (London: Zwemmer, 1994), 22-23.

¹⁵⁶ LeCorbeiller, *China Trade Porcelain*, 4.

¹⁵⁷ Howard, *Choice of the Private Trader*, 15.

merchants for English propaganda.¹⁵⁸ While the new focus on European trade goods was to serve the Dutch and English East India Companies well for a period, the specialization was to eventually prove ruinous, because as forms became more Anglicized, they became more costly to make and less marketable in China. Each new style underwent a period of experimentation, which cost the potters time and resources as they sought to perfect the technical aspects of production. In the end, when the market slowed in the nineteenth

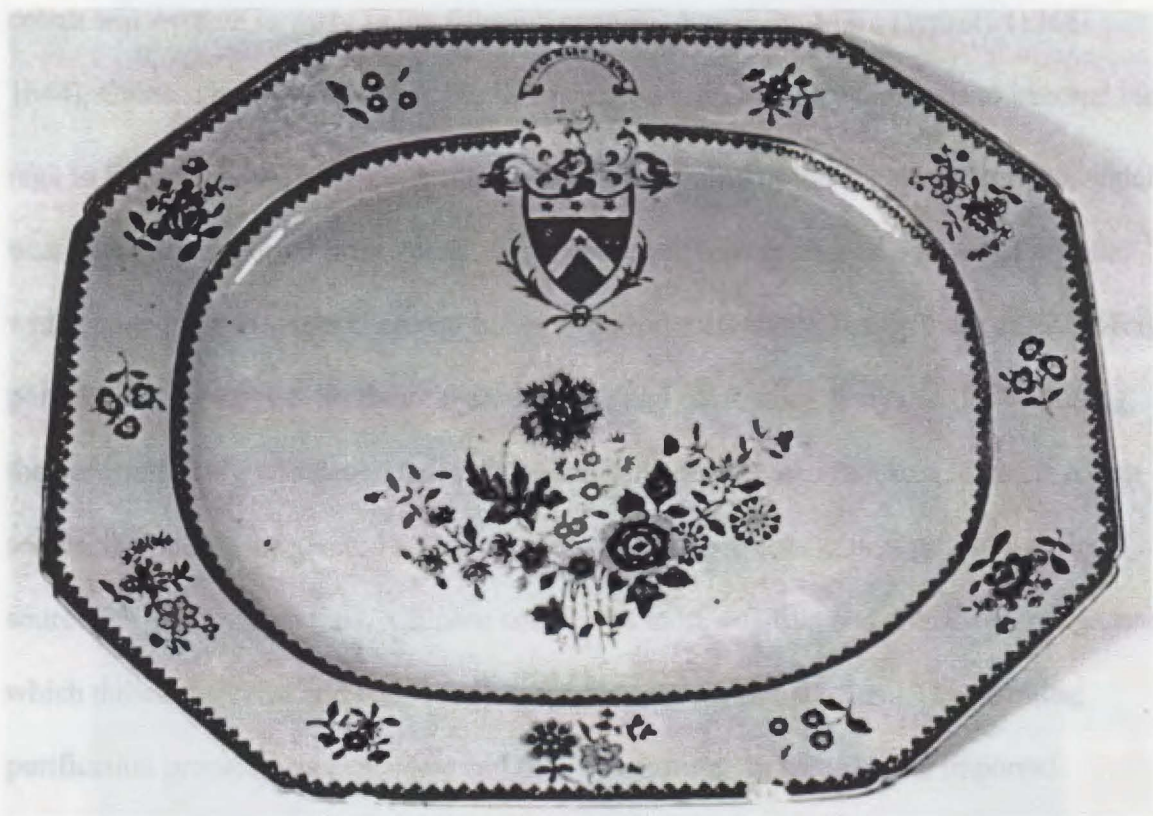


Figure 2.16 Armorial motif on Chinese porcelain from Charleston Museum collections
(Photo courtesy of Charleston Museum)

¹⁵⁸ Howard, *Choice of the Private Trader*, 11.

century, the potters were left with large inventories of unsellable wares.

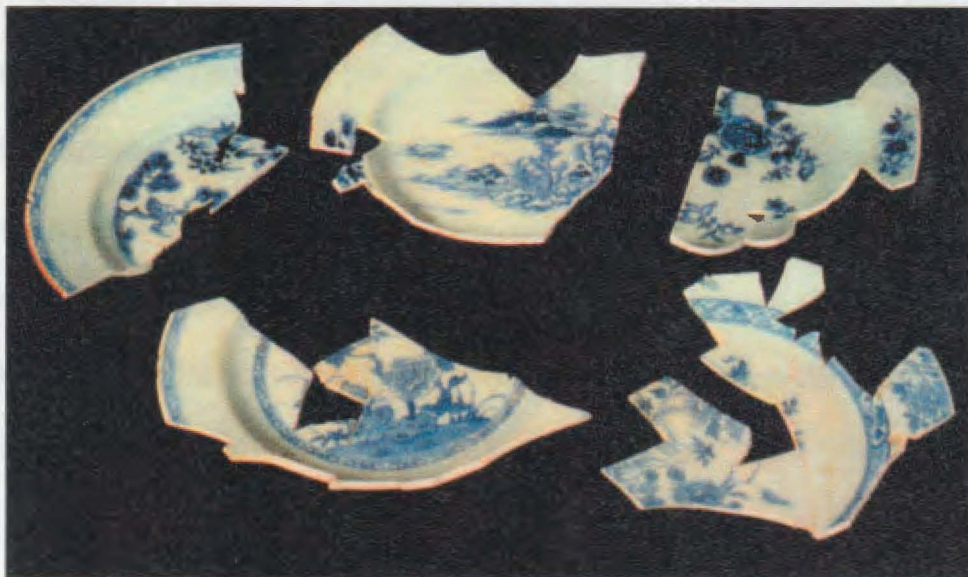
Of the Chinese porcelain exported to Charleston in the eighteenth century, the most popular was the blue and white porcelain, which could be found in dining rooms and parlors throughout Europe and the colonies (Figures 2.17 and 2.18). The production of white porcelain with its brilliant blue underglaze decoration as seen in the late eighteenth century was an evolutionary process. Historically, motifs on blue and white wares ranged from dull gray in color to a pure, brilliant cobalt blue. While the use of cobalt was evident as early as the fifteenth century, during the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), Chinese potters developed the formula for a vibrant blue which was to become the rage in Europe and Asia.¹⁵⁹ The secret was in the quality of the cobalt underglaze, which was originally imported from Persia. The best cobalt ores contained a touch of arsenic, which added just the right chemical balance to produce a stable and brilliant color. Ming porcelains were known for their bright coloring and clear white body. In the beginning, the porcelain body was decorated with the Persian cobalt; when that source began to run scarce, the potters discovered a way to purify the Chinese cobalt, thus providing a local source for the raw materials. Chinese cobalt was more volatile, and contained manganese which dulled the color and had to be filtered out in glaze preparation. The resulting purification process was expensive and time consuming. In some cases, imported reserves of Persian cobalt were mixed with Chinese cobalt to stretch it out. This resulted in a wide range of hues for the blue and white porcelain over the span of a few centuries.

The traditional blue and white porcelain imported for European buyers began to be supplemented in the seventeenth century by a broadening array of colors and

¹⁵⁹ Julia R. Curtis, *Chinese Porcelains of the Seventeenth Century* (New York: China Institute,



Figure 2.17. Punch bowl of blue and white Chinese porcelain
(Photo courtesy of the Charleston Museum)



**Figure 2.18. Blue and white Chinese porcelain found in
 Charleston archaeological contexts**
(Photo courtesy of the Charleston Museum)

¹⁵⁹ Julia B. Curtis, *Chinese Porcelains of the Seventeenth Century* (New York: China Institute

techniques. The addition of underglaze colors of green and red provided new styles, including the organic *famille verte* style, named for its use of green under and overglazes, and the red and blue "Chinese Imari" type, which emulated Japanese porcelains.

"Penciled" china, often called *encre de chine*¹⁶⁰ or *grisaille*¹⁶¹ was introduced through the assistance of Jesuit missionaries in China, who were instrumental in the development of a non-volatile ink overglaze. The result was a fine liquid which was used to draw delicate designs on the porcelain, which was then enameled with the traditional palette of Chinese colors (Figure 2.19). While experiments on penciled porcelain were being conducted in 1722, the first documented evidence of its success dates to 1730, when it was first noted by Hsien Min, then governor of the Chinese province of Kianhsi.¹⁶²

Overglaze enameling, also introduced by Jesuits in the seventeenth century, became popular as the Chinese potters were exposed to the enameling found on imported watches and other trade goods.¹⁶³ Enamellists from Europe were sent to China to instruct potters on the new low-fire enameling technique. Chinese overglaze patterns were initially used in cooperation with the underglaze patterns, forming a complex design with a new dimensionality. Initially, the majority of the enameling was done in the pottery

Gallery, 1995), 125.

¹⁶⁰ Arlene Palmer, *Winterthur Guide to Chinese Porcelain* (New York: Crown, 1976), 17.

¹⁶¹ LeCorbeiller, *China Trade Porcelain*, 7.

¹⁶² LeCorbeiller, *China Trade Porcelain*, 7.



Figure 2.19. Penciled Chinese porcelain, also called *encre de chine* or *grisaille*
(Photo courtesy of the Charleston Museum).

centers such as Ching-te-chen. Later, to speed production, and to enable traders to get specialty pieces in a more timely fashion, Chinese enamellers were sent to work at the trade port of Canton.¹⁶⁴ This led to a separation of the underglaze-overglaze process, and occasionally resulted in an inconsistent design on the porcelain.

Overglaze enameling was originally completed in red iron-oxides, but quickly accepted more colors (Figure 2.20). The enamellers included pink, red, green, yellow and blue colors to create complex botanical patterns and garden scenes. The style developed over time and later became known as *famille rose* because of the strong use of pink enamels.¹⁶⁵ The use of enamel continued throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, though the delicacy of the eighteenth-century wares was never equaled.

¹⁶³ Suzanne Valenstein, *A Handbook of Chinese Ceramics* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989), 246

¹⁶⁴ LeCorbeiller, *China Trade Porcelain*, 7.

¹⁶⁵ John G. Phillips, *China-Trade Porcelain* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956), 60.

In the historical and archaeological records from eighteenth century Charleston, Chinese porcelain reveals the widest variety of forms and styles listed of any of the ceramic types. Thirty-six forms are specifically listed as being available in Chinese blue and white porcelain.¹⁶⁶ Other specific types of Chinese porcelain are listed in Charleston inventories, including enameled and burnt china, red and white, and brown and red chinas. Enameled china, which ranges from a simple blue and white pattern with red overglaze, can be seen in the Chinese Imari dinner service or the “tobacco leaf” service found at the Charleston Museum (Figure 2.21). References to “burnt” china may refer



Figure 2.20. Overglaze enameled porcelain plate from Charleston archaeological collections.
(Photo courtesy of Charleston Museum)

¹⁶⁶ The variety of forms listed for Chinese porcelain does not necessarily infer the lack of these forms for other ceramic types. Because of an economic and social bias identified in probate records, it seems likely that examiners were predisposed toward the high-cost items, magnifying the importance of Chinese porcelain in inventories, and relegating earthenwares and stonewares into a non-descript “lott.”



Figure 2.21. Tobacco leaf dinner service found on Charleston archaeological site.
(Photo courtesy of Charleston Museum)

either to enameling or to the process of firing gold leaf onto the glazed piece.¹⁶⁷ Josiah Wedgwood refers to "burning" gold onto his wares in letters to his brother John, strengthening the case for the secondary usage of the term.¹⁶⁸

"Brown" china is a reference to blue and white porcelain with a caramel-colored glaze on the reverse or exterior surface, which was originally imported from China by the Dutch, becoming associated with Dutch-owned colony of Batavia (in Indonesia) in the seventeenth century.¹⁶⁹ The interiors of these wares were decorated in the traditional floral or landscape designs, while the exterior was glazed with a color that resembles light chocolate or a dead leaf.

¹⁶⁷ See Rich Goring, "European Ceramics in 17th and 18th Century New York," *The Bulletin and Journal of Archaeology for New York State* 80-81 (1980-81), 16, for a discussion on the use of the term "burnt" china in probate inventories.

¹⁶⁸ Finer and Savage, *Selected Letters*, 34.

¹⁶⁹ LeCorbellier, *China Trade Porcelain*, 2.

Chinese porcelain dominated the market for high-status tablewares throughout the eighteenth century. As the demand for porcelain increased, European potters sought to reproduce these popular wares in their own factories, including potteries in France, Germany and eventually Britain. Although French and German potters were successful in discovering the secret of porcelain fairly early, the English created their own unique answer to the problem of competition with porcelain from the East.

English Porcelain

While other European powers had acquired porcelain factories by the 1740s, English potters attempted to duplicate the translucence and delicacy of the Chinese and continental porcelains by using ground glass and steatite in the vitrification process instead of kaolin clay. This produced a body and finish known as "soft porcelain," which was close to the true porcelain, but not the same. The early search for china clay in England had resulted in the use of *magnesium* silicate (steatite) instead of *aluminum* silicate (china stone) in the clay body. The steatite was a softer stone, and resulted in the production of the so-called "soft paste porcelains" in the last quarter of the eighteenth century.¹⁷⁰ Soft-paste porcelain wares were produced in factories in Chelsea, Worcester, and Longton Hall, England.¹⁷¹

As early as 1747, soft paste porcelain was being made in Chelsea.¹⁷² It resembled milk glass of beautifully white tone with a brilliant glaze. The body often showed pinholes or flecks when held to light due to imperfections in fabric. The soft

¹⁷⁰ Kenneth Hudson, *History of English China Clay* (New York: Augustus M. Kelly, 1969), 16.

¹⁷¹ W. B. Honey, *English Pottery and Porcelain*, (London: A. & C. Black Ltd., 1962), 126.

¹⁷² Honey, *Pottery and Porcelain*, 126.

porcelain ceramic forms were usually taken from silver vessels, not the traditional oriental or European porcelain forms, although some forms may be some based upon some French designs (Figure 2.22).

The experimentation with porcelain was primarily with the soft-paste variety until 1768, when apothecary William Cookworthy developed what ceramics historian Melanie Delhom refers to as the "true" Bristol porcelain.¹⁷³ Familiar with



Figure 2.22. English porcelain teapot

the materials needed for porcelain, namely kaolin and aluminum silicate (china stone), Cookworthy found these elements in Cornwall and produced and patented the first English hard porcelain. Cookworthy ran the porcelain factory at Plymouth until 1773, when he transferred everything to Bristol,¹⁷⁴ At that time, merchant and potter Richard Champion became manager of the factory.¹⁷⁵ Champion purchased the porcelain patent from Cookworthy in 1775.¹⁷⁶ Champion, who was also a ship owner,¹⁷⁷ may have been shipping English porcelain to merchants in

¹⁷³ Delhom, *The Delhom Gallery Guide: English Pottery*, The Mint Museum Series No. 1. (Charlotte, N.C.: Mint Museum, 1982), 41.

¹⁷⁴ Hudson, *China Clay*, 16.

¹⁷⁵ Honey, *English Pottery* 126.

¹⁷⁶ Reilly, *Wedgwood Dictionary*, 353.

¹⁷⁷ P. C. Coker, *Charleston's Maritime Heritage* (Charleston: CokerCraft Press, 1987), 67.

Charleston as early as 1767 by way of ship's captain Nicholas Pocock and the *Lloyd*, one of Champion's ships. The purchase of a porcelain factory would have enhanced his trade considerably.

Cookworthy's sole-use patent for china stone and china clay from Cornwall expired in 1775 and Champion fought Josiah Wedgwood, John Turner, and a cadre of other Staffordshire potters for its renewal. Champion eventually won rights to the clay, but he decided to sell the patent in 1781 to Staffordshire potters who began to produce porcelain at the potworks in New Hall. Champion left England and moved to Camden, South Carolina in 1784.¹⁷⁸

Despite the popularity of European porcelain, the fragility and cost of these wares was often prohibitive for colonial buyers, especially when compared to the more durable – and plentiful – Chinese porcelains. English porcelain found in the colonies consisted of hand-painted teawares from Bow, Worcester, Liverpool and Coughley, produced sometime between 1755 and 1775.¹⁷⁹ Few remnants of these soft paste porcelains exist in archaeological contexts, but they are not difficult to distinguish from the harder porcelains. Soft paste wares are easily marred by running a file across the surface, and the body tends to be gritty when broken. The hard porcelains do not scar as easily and are more glassy or vitreous.

Ceramics imported into Charleston in the 1760s cover a wide range of attributes ranging from the very coarse unglazed locally-made earthenwares to the high-fired, highly decorated porcelains imported from China. The specific cost of ceramics may

¹⁷⁸ Delhom, *Gallery guide*, 41 and Walter Minchinton, "Richard Champion, Nicholas Pocock, and the Carolina Trade," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 65 (1964):87-97.

¹⁷⁹ Noël Hume, *Colonial Artifacts*, 137.

help to define purchasing power or economic status within the Charleston community, but it was ultimately the function of Charleston ceramics which reflected the social status of the individual. Owning the porcelain tea set was not as important as knowing how to use it socially – or more specifically, having the opportunity to use it socially. The variety of forms found in the Charleston home, discussed in the following chapter, reveal the complexity with which Charlestonians viewed their social rituals.

approach. Art historians, historians, and archaeologists have attempted to define historical use patterns through vessel forms and construction techniques. The following discussion on form and function follows the work previously completed by archaeologists and ceramics historians.¹⁸¹ While utilization patterns of some forms changed over time, the focus here is on mid-to late-eighteenth century forms and usage found in Charleston inventories.

The dressed table

While what Charlestonians considered "essential" in the 1760s could vary from table to table, the forms were fairly stable according to their usage patterns. The table of a middle class family might be set rather simply. Each place would have wooden trencher (a shallow wooden bowl) and a spoon, usually made of pewter. Drinking vessels would be glass, tin, or horn. A central serving vessel made of wood, pewter, or red earthenware would hold portions for the entire table.

By contrast, the formal dining table of the upper economic class of society was a

¹⁸¹ See Mary Beaudry, Janet Long, Henry M. Miller, Frances D. Nickman and Garry Wheeler Stone, "A Vessel Typology for Early Chesapeake Ceramics: The Potomac Typological System," *Historical Archaeology* 17 (1983): 15-39; Sarah Peabody Tunbough, "17th and 18th Century Lead-Glazed Redwares in the Massachusetts Bay Colony," *Historical Archaeology* 17 (1983): 3-17; J. Jefferson Miller, *Eighteenth-century Ceramics from Fort Mifflin/Archaeology*; Robin Peilly, *Wedgewood Dictionary* and Robert Fournier, *Illustrated dictionary of pottery forms* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1981).

Chapter 3

FORM AND FUNCTION

The use of ceramic vessel forms to identify cultural patterns is hardly a novel approach. Art historians, historians and archaeologists have attempted to define historical use patterns through vessel forms and construction techniques. The following discussion on form and function follows the work previously completed by archaeologists and ceramics historians.¹⁸⁰ While utilization patterns of some forms changed over time, the focus here is on mid-to late-eighteenth century forms and usage found in Charleston inventories.

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Figure 3.1 Formal dining room circa 1765

mélange of vessel forms. The primary table service, usually of porcelain, white stoneware, or a refined earthenware, consisted of a soup/serving tureen with matching dinner and soup plates, saucers, pickle dishes, etc. The dessert service was a

separate set of serving plates with matching dessert plates or bowls for trifles, custards, or fruits. Glassware included wine and water glasses, decanters, and decorative centerpieces. The elegant nature of this dining experience was further defined by the strict rules of etiquette which were embraced by the colonial elite. Good manners and appropriate behavior became so important that recipe books began to include discourses on table settings, and guides to good behavior were written for the aspiring young gentleman or gentlewoman.¹⁸¹ The dining experience perpetuated the desire for finer and more complex tablewares.

Dining In

The usage patterns of ceramics in eighteenth-century Charleston may be better understood by beginning with a brief look at the patterns of dining in the Low Country. While recipes do not often call for the type of dish used for cooking or service, the complexity of eating habits may reveal the types and sizes of dishes which might be

¹⁸¹

See George Washington, *Rules of Civility and Decent Behaviour in Company and Conversation* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1926).

needed for a typical meal.

Studies of foodways and eating habits in eighteenth century Charleston indicate that the diet could have included fresh vegetables, meat, fish, chicken, and grain products (*corn or grits, rice, breads, cereals, etc.*). *Vegetables were served fresh, boiled, baked, or preserved as pickles or sauces.* Fish could be found fresh, dried, or salted. Meats, including pork, veal and beef, were often preserved, except during the seasonal slaughtering. In his informal review of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century eating, Joe Gray Taylor defines the breakfast in his outline of "fine" southern cuisine by its inclusion of fried pork, eggs, and grits.¹⁸²

Archaeological evidence, as well as cooking guides for the period indicate that most of the animal was utilized, with little opportunity for waste products. Hanna Glasse's *Art of Cookery* detailed recipes for such delicacies as "Calf's Head Surprise," "Pigeon Trans-mogrified," "Roasted Ox-Cheek," and "Beef Tongue Fricasay."¹⁸³ Preservation of food was important, and numerous recipes were listed for pickling, drying, and salting. (One of Mrs. Glasse's recipes, designed for sea captains, provided instructions for making a catsup which would last for 20 years.) Root vegetables, peas and beans, squash and pumpkins were stored for use in wintertime. Luxury items were also used in some quantity, including coffee, Bohia Tea and chocolate. Shipping registers from Charleston harbor reveal a wide variety of imported goods. Table 3.1 provides a sampling of the foods being imported over a four year period.

¹⁸² Joe Gray Taylor, *Eating, Drinking and Visiting in the South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), 53-64.

¹⁸³ Hanna Glasse, *The Art of Cookery Made Plain & Easy ; which far exceeds any thing of the kind ever yet published...By a Lady* (Boston, 1843), 49, 62, 93. (First published in 1751.)

Table 3.1. Foodstuffs Imported into Charleston Ports

barrels of beef	firkins of butter
puncheons of lime	brandy
salmon	claret
cheese	pimento
onions	hams
mackerel	gannions
cacao	pork
oranges	tierces of coffee
bushels potatoes	muscovado sugar
barrels of coffee	chestnuts
bread	rum
Indian corn	vinegar
turtles	casks of "reasons"
pineapples	almonds
bananas	olives
cranberries	

*Data taken from "List of ships and vessels that have entered inwards in Lady day," 1760-1764. British Public Record Office (CO5), Shipping registers. On file at SC Department of Archives and History

The archaeological remains from Charleston help to confirm diet patterns, revealing deposits of corncobs and seeds, and the bones of turtle, cow, chicken and sheep. Remnants of coarse earthenware milk pans and crockery found in excavations point to dairying activities. Likewise, the presence of tea accoutrements confirms the use of tea or coffee in the household. It seems likely that Charlestonians attended to the necessary social requirements, whether of a planter or merchant class household, or of a middle class household, providing guests with afternoon refreshment as the occasion warranted.

Ceramic Forms Used in the Household

Tablewares

The Charleston table could range from the informal to the sublime. At its apex, the formal table could employ dozens of dishes presented in a number of culinary deposits, each more lavish than the last. What follows is a list of general vessel forms which are considered "tablewares" – those dishes used in the presentation and consumption of food. They are distinguished from wares used solely for tea, or those whose use is of a utilitarian nature.

Bowls. Utilized in almost every aspect of cooking and serving, bowls range from an ornately decorated porcelain punch bowl form (see Figure 2.17) to crude mixing bowls (Figure 2.9) and the flatter serving bowls, sometimes also called dishes. They ranged in size from pint to gallon bowls. While the form itself is not particularly diagnostic, the location of a bowl in a particular part of the household may reveal certain aspects of use or disposal within the Charleston household. In both archaeological contexts and probate inventories, consistent patterns of usage suggest a culturally accepted standard, particularly within the upper and middle class households, where separation of space was more prevalent. Ceramic bowls were found in the parlor and may have been punch or fruit bowls. The finer serving bowls might have been kept in the *beaufat* (corner or "buffet") cupboards of the dining room (see Figure 3.1), along with other food service vessels. The earthenware bowls found in kitchens were more likely the red earthenware food preparation items such as mixing bowls, etc. While porcelain or fine earthenware bowls would be filled in the kitchen, they were often stored elsewhere

because of the high traffic and multi-purpose nature of the kitchen space.¹⁸⁴ Bowl forms were relatively consistent in the 1760s. They were wider than they were tall with a footed bottom and slightly curved sides. The rims ranged from flat to deeply curved, with some coarse redware bowls containing a wide lip (see Figure 2.5) or a “pie crust” edge which reinforced the rim (Figure 3.2).

Butter boats, butter dish, butter plates, butter tub and stand. Butter was shipped and stored in earthenware or stoneware pots, which were then reused for other purposes, or refilled by local dairying activities. The *butter pot* was a straight-sided jar “of almost square elevation” with handles. In one Act of English Parliament, it was mandated that butter pots weigh no more than 6 pounds, and hold 14 pounds of butter.¹⁸⁵ Because of the wear and tear on butter pots, a separate dish was used to serve the butter to the table. *Butter dishes* were often covered and may have had a stand or plate underneath. Some forms may have included a system for using water to keep the butter cool. In Charleston, probate records indicate butter stands in Chinese porcelain, stoneware, cauliflower and pineapple wares, tortoiseshell wares, and green-glazed wares.

Dessert pieces. These serving dishes were marketed and sold in sets as follows: one large bowl, six or twelve smaller bowls, a fruit dish, a cream jug, a sugar bowl, and a sauceboat.¹⁸⁶ These were often shaped dishes with matching decoration designed to be used with the formal dining service. While the Charleston inventories of the 1760s only

¹⁸⁴ Jane Nylander, *Our Own Snug Fireside: Images of the New England home, 1760–1860* (New York: Knopf, 1993), 251–54.

¹⁸⁵ Fournier, *Dictionary*, 38.

¹⁸⁶ Fournier, *Dictionary*, 74



Figure 3.2. Slip-decorated dish with pie-shell rim. (Photo courtesy Charleston Museum)

list the dessert pieces in enameled porcelain, pattern books from the period show them available in creamware and white salt-glaze stoneware.

Dishes. This category of tableware has undergone a great deal of scrutiny which will not be replicated here.¹⁸⁷ These serving vessels can be either shallow or deep, with a variety of rim forms. According to archaeologist Sophie Drakich, the dish is a variant

¹⁸⁷ Sophie Drakich, "18th Century Coarse Earthenwares Imported into Louisbourg," *Material History Bulletin* [Canada] 1982 (16): 86; Mary Beaudry et al., "A Vessel Typology for Early Chesapeake Ceramics: the Potomac Typological System," *Historical Archaeology* 17 (1983):18-39; Fournier, *Dictionary*; and Reilly, *Wedgwood Dictionary*, 166.

form similar to a bowl, but shallower and without a lip.¹⁸⁸ Inventories have listings for octagon dishes, oval dishes, salad and/or soup dishes, fish dishes, leaf dishes, etc. If you could fill it, eat from it, or serve in it, it fell into this category. While the standard size for dishes was 10 inches in diameter, contemporary definitions list a range from 10.75 to 28 inches.¹⁸⁹ Some of the more decorative forms (leaf or pickle dishes) might have even run smaller. Because of the variable uses of the dish, these forms show up in archaeological and documentary contexts in every major ceramic type.

Mustard pot. A variety of spices were imported to the colonies, including pepper, cinnamon, pimentos, mustard, etc. While most were utilized in cooking, a few became part of the table setting, specifically salt, pepper and mustard. The mustard pot was a handled, cylindrical and lidded jar¹⁹⁰ used separately, or as part of a *castor* set, including salt, pepper and mustard, which could be found in ceramic or silver forms.

Plate, shallow plates, flat plate. The plate was a vessel for eating, measuring 7.5 to 9.5 inches in diameter.¹⁹¹ Inventories typically refer to plates as small or large (rather than a specific size), and frequently list them in groups or as part of a larger set of dinnerware. The large dinner service might have contained 12 to 24 plates each of varying sizes. Examples of plates found in Charleston can be seen in Figures 2.1, 2.20 and 2.21.

¹⁸⁸ Drakich, "Louisbourg," 86.

¹⁸⁹ Beaudry, "Vessel typology," 18-39.

¹⁹⁰ Fournier, *Dictionary*, 166.

¹⁹¹ Noël Hume, "White salt-glazed stoneware," 26.

Salt cellars, or *salts* were shallow, footed bowls, approximately 3 inches in diameter for the table service of salt. Some forms of the salt had low foot rims, others had pedestals. The salt became part of the standard table service during the 1700s, and was part of castor set (see also *mustard pot*).

The *soup tureen* was a service vessel designed to hold multiple servings of a dish, usually soup. The tureen had two handles and a lid, which kept food hot (Figure 3.3).



Figure 3.3 Soup tureen of enameled Chinese porcelain

It was part of a setting of *table china*, which also included salad and flat plates, serving dishes, etc.

Table china. For the appraiser, a collection of tablewares of the same pattern was easily described as

“1 set enamelled Table China, viz:

1 tureen, 12 soup plates, 12 flat

plates, 6 flat dishes.”¹⁹² Both Asian and European potters were known to sell ceramics in sets which were decorated with the same design, usually in groups of twelve, which was the number of settings considered appropriate for a dinner party. While the design might not be identical on each plate, an effort was made to coordinate color and pattern for an overall effect. Therefore, a set of tablewares might have an ivy border and a series of bird motifs or landscapes which were similar but not identical. One well-known European example of this decorative device is seen in the tableware service which Josiah

¹⁹²

Public Records Office. Inventory of Andrew Johnson. *Secretary of State, Recorded Instruments, Inventories of Estates (WPA transcripts)*, Charleston County. 1692-1779. On file at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History.

Wedgwood designed for Catherine II of Russia, in which the rim of the dinner service had a frog crest design, while the center displayed a series of famous European landscapes.¹⁹³ Similarly, the garden motif in many enameled Chinese porcelain sets includes various scenes from a garden, each framed with a rim or marley design with identical patterns. The result is a cohesive table setting with individualistic touches.

Beverage consumption

The social consumption of wine and ale were joined in the seventeenth century by tea and coffee drinking. By the third quarter of the eighteenth century, the network of taverns was appended by a series of new coffeehouses and teahouses as annual tea consumption in Britain went from 3.8 million pounds in 1767 to 7.1 million pounds in 1770.¹⁹⁴ Staffordshire pottery historian John Thomas suggests that if tea had not become popular in Europe in the eighteenth century, that ceramics would never have developed at the exponential rate that occurred in the eighteenth century. "Tea from pewter was too hot, tea from wood was not pleasant, and horn "tot" was not suitable."¹⁹⁵ The clay body in porcelain and stoneware acted as an insulator against the scalding hot tea, and was readily accepted as the vessel of choice for the new beverages. As the popularity and ritual significance of tea drinking combined with the increasing importation of Chinese porcelains, European potters were spurred to meet the challenging and lucrative market which was unfolding before them.

¹⁹³ Mankowitz, *Wedgwood*, 47-49.

¹⁹⁴ Thomas, *Potteries*, 104.

¹⁹⁵ Hudson, *English China Clay*, 103.

The Tea Table and its Wares

The popularity of tea and coffee extended to the colonies by the late 1760s.¹⁹⁶ In most colonial households, tea sets were displayed on tea tables or tea boards, rather than in the *beaufat* or china cupboard. Tea tables were occasionally listed in probate records of the period. Traditionally, tea tables are thought to be rectangular tables with four-square legs, but could also be seen in a tripod table of mahogany with a circular top; other styles include the tilt-top table, or the single-drawer drop-leaf pembroke table - any small side table which could be easily adjusted for serving company. Closely related was the tea board, a small wooden, metal or ceramic tray, usually with raised edges, which could hold the teapot, cup and saucer, creamer and sugar box.

The introduction of tea to the colonies in the seventeenth century brought a new facet to the societal hierarchy in the colonies. Initially, the universal acceptance and use of tea was limited, as it was too expensive for many households; tea drinking may have been embraced by the upper classes as an elitist phenomenon. The ceremonial aspect of tea was imported from Asia and grafted into "respectable" society. As tea drinking moved from public venues to the home, elaborate tea service "rituals" began to define the level of respectability attained by a young lady or gentleman.¹⁹⁷ By the 1730s, however, middle class aspirations and economic fluctuations allowed tea drinking to become *de rigueur* in many social circles, and tea wares became a standard in many Carolina homes.

As the use of tea became more Anglicized, the concept of the tea set changed in the eighteenth century as focus shifted from the traditional Chinese to a more Western

¹⁹⁶

Smith, "Tea and Sugar," 259-278, and Roth, "Tea Drinking," 239-262.

¹⁹⁷

Smith, "Tea and Sugar," 275.

assemblage. Initially, oriental style teacups were acceptable for tea. These cups did not have handles, and were usually 2 to 2.5 inches high. The saucers were deep (Figure 3.4), and teapots were squat and round. Sugar and milk were not added to the teacup by the Chinese, so the associated creamer or milk pot and sugar bowl were later additions, as use of tea with sugar expanded in Western circles.¹⁹⁸ As tea drinking became a Western habit, forms introduced by early East Indies traders evolved to meet Western standards of consumption. By the 1760s, the set might consist of a *teapot*, which was low and round, and/or a *coffee pot*, which was tall and slender (ht:10-12 inches) (See Figure 2.22); 6 to 12 *cups* with or without handles, 6 to 12 *saucers*, a *slop bowl*, a lidded *sugar dish*, a lidded *milk pot*, and *caddy*. The tea service was often manufactured and purchased as a single set,¹⁹⁹ with the lidded milk pot assuming a similar form to the coffee or tea pot, only smaller (approximately 5 inches in height).

The cup changed in size and form depending upon its intended use. *Tea cups* as defined above, were smaller than the handled *coffee cups*. *Chocolate cups* were similar in style, but could have two handles, and usually matched the *chocolate pot*.

The *milk pot* was part of the tea set, used in combination with sugar container and teapot. In form it was a small pitcher with or without a lid. It could be designed to match the form and style of coffee or tea pot and approximately 4.5 to 5.5 inches high, or a small pitcher of similar height.

¹⁹⁸ Woodruff Smith, "Complications of the Commonplace: Tea, Sugar and Imperialism," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 32 (1992):259-278.

¹⁹⁹ Tea sets are listed in Charleston inventories and advertisements throughout the 1760s; see Appendix A. See also Rodris Roth, "Tea Drinking in Eighteenth Century America: Its Etiquette and Equipage," in *Material Culture in America*, ed. Thomas J. Schlereth, 439-462 (Nashville, Tenn.: American Association for State and Local History, c1982).

The *saucer*, or small plate, was roughly 5 inches in diameter; it was also a dish used with tea or coffee cup. The saucer ranged in form from flat plate with slight upward curve at rim to a shallow bowl with .5 to .75 inch deep curve at outer rim. It could match the tea or coffee cup and/or teapot, but may have also been designed for use in conjunction with table service, as with the *pickle saucer*. Charleston inventories reveal saucers in Chinese porcelain and white salt-glazed stoneware, but archaeological samples also exist in delft and fine lead-glazed earthenwares.



Figure 3.4. Chinese porcelain teawares. (Photo courtesy Charleston Museum)

Slop bowls. Bowls used in conjunction with tea service. In formal tea drinking, the tea leaves and any unfinished was poured into the slop bowl before preparing a new cup, thus guaranteeing the hottest cup with the freshest taste. As tea was considered a “delicacy,” perfection in its preparation was paramount. As suggested by Roth,²⁰⁰ its conspicuous consumption was also an indication of status, so adherence to a strict ritual

²⁰⁰ Roth, “Tea Drinking,” 440.

of preparation and service enhanced the perception of importance.

References to *breakfast china* and *afternoon china* are found in probate inventories from Charleston, and probably are used to distinguish the special use sets from the regular tea wares. Breakfast china, also referred to as a *petit dejeuner* service (from the French term for breakfast) or cabaret were usually smaller sets of tea wares, designed to be carried to the bedroom or breakfast room. The set included a matching pot, cup and saucers, milk pot and sugar bowl, and a tray.²⁰¹ No specific definition of afternoon china has been located, but the term may be a counterpoint to the breakfast service, indicating the service utilized for the regular tea table.

Wine, punch and beer

The use of beer, wine, and other alcoholic drinks was part of the standard dinner fare for many Charlestonians, but these were also social drinks. This diversity in use allowed for a wide variety of fabrics which could be used in the creation of these vessels.

Mug (pint to quart size). Wine, punch and ale were popular drinks of the late 1700s. Used in both tavern and home settings, the vessel of choice was the mug, which ranged from 1 gill (.25 pint) to 2 or more quarts, was usually cylindrical in shape, with a sturdy handle (Figure 3.5). Mugs could be used by individuals or communally. In inventories and archaeological excavations, mugs appear in stoneware, earthenware and porcelain of all sorts.

Punch bowl - fluted, large, small. Because of the similarity to bowls used for other purposes, these vessels are distinguished by their location within the house and the materials from which they were constructed. Punch was traditionally served in social

²⁰¹

Reilly, Wedgwood.

settings, so these bowls were often found in porcelain, refined earthenwares and stonewares, although the occurrence of delft punch bowls is considerable prior to the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Punch vessels ranged from 1/2 pint to several gallons, depending upon whether they were for individual or community use.²⁰² In household inventories, when items were enumerated by location, punch bowls were often found in the parlor or “best room,”²⁰³ where entertaining would occur. Items associated with the punch service included ladles, small and large bowls, and in one case, a mahogany punch cover.²⁰⁴

Punch pot. One final form which appears in beverage service towards the latter part of the eighteenth century is the punch pot. This form is similar to the teapot, but appears slightly more rounded in the body. The pot shown has a straighter spout than the traditional teapot forms (Figure 3.6).

²⁰² Beaudry, et al., “Potomac Typology System”, 33.

²⁰³ Nylander, *Our Own Snug Fireside*, 251-254.

²⁰⁴ Public Records Office. Inventory of Joseph Hurst, December 15, 1758. *Secretary of State, Recorded Instruments, Inventories of Estates (WPA transcripts), Charleston County, 1692-1779*. (WPA 158, Volume A, Part II, 172). On file at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History.

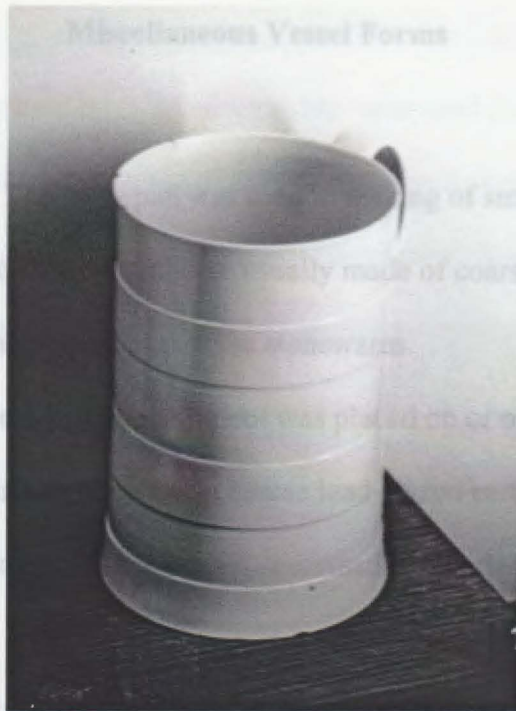


Figure 3.5. Engine -turned creamware mug



Figure 3.6 Hand-painted creamware punch pot.

Miscellaneous Vessel Forms

Cooking vessels

Petty/patty pan. The petty pan was used in making of small cakes. It was a flat shallow pan with a turned rim. These were usually made of coarse earthenwares, which could withstand greater heat changes than the stonewares.

Pipkin. This three-legged cooking pot was placed on or near the fire for cooking or warming food. Pipkins can be found in coarse lead glazed earthenwares throughout the North American colonies, and have been unearthed in Charleston archaeological sites (Figure 3.7).

The *stew pot* was utilized for cooking tougher cuts of meat - similar to the crock pot of the 1990s. It was made of coarse earthenware or stoneware, and was typically rounded with a turned rim. The lid fit inside the rim and had a small loop or knob handle.



Figure 3.7. Earthenware pipkin.

Dairying equipment

Milk or cream pans. These flat, round pans were used for separating the cream and milkfat from the milk. Usually found near kitchens or dairying sheds, these coarse earthenwares were mainstays in the production of butter and cheese. Dairying rooms or sheds also contained a variety of storage or transportation containers: pitchers, bowls, jars, etc.



Figure 3.8. Milk or cream pan of lead-glazed redware.
(Photo courtesy of Charleston Museum)

Ornamental wares

Despite the emphasis on the useful wares prior to the 1770s, there are occurrences of ornamental wares in some households, particularly as wall or chimney ornaments. Many of the porcelain factories were producing elaborate figures which were strictly decorative, while forms such as vases and flower pots were bridging the useful-ornamental gap. Of the forms listed in Charleston inventories, decorative *faces* (large or small wall ornaments with floral designs and stylized human faces) and *flower horns*

(Figure 3.10) appear as indications of this early trend toward decoration in the eighteenth century household.

Hygiene/personal health

Barbers basons. The barber's "bason" was used for shaving, blood letting, etc. and was once considered essential to the barber/surgeon's trade.²⁰⁵ This shallow dish with a flat rim had a curved area cut away from the outer edge which would fit against the chin for shaving or against the arm for bleeding. Found in refined earthenwares and tin-glazed wares.

Chamber pot. The ubiquitous chamber pot has been found in every sort of ceramics medium, most of which are represented in the probate inventory lists. This vessel is a handled, bulbous form with a sturdy flat or flared rim, usually 7-10 inches in diameter. Examples of the chamber pot have been excavated at the Judicial center site, Exchange Building, etc.

Hand basin/hand wash basin. The hand wash basin was a part of the personal ceramics found in colonial households or taverns. These shallow, round bowls were used to wash face and hands in private quarters such as bedrooms. They would be filled with water from a pitcher or bucket which was obtained at a well or pump. Probate inventories list hand wash basins in blue and white china, delf, and stoneware.

Making sense of the data

The range of vessel forms revealed in probate inventories points to the social and economic complexity of Charleston's population in the 1760s. While vessel forms were many, wares were typically lumped into the same categories discussed in previous

²⁰⁵ Fournier, *Dictionary*, 30

chapters: stonewares, earthenwares, porcelain. The interplay between the ceramic form and its fabric reveals much about the perceptions of elegance and utility in the Charleston household.

The study of ceramic form and function also provides a diagnostic tool for archaeological and historical analysis of Charleston's society in the eighteenth century.

When combined with an understanding of ceramic technology, and paired with trade information about the individual tastes of Charleston residents during the 1760s, legal patterns in the south, this study can help us to understand the factors which influenced Charlestonians in their buying and selling of ceramics wares. The broader picture of imports and exports must be considered in any evaluation of material culture patterns in the American colonies.

Each historical medium provided a different view of the marketing and utilization of ceramics in Charleston. Advertisements from Charleston newspapers were most helpful in identifying those merchants who dealt in the ceramics trade (Appendix B). While Charleston County will and probate records were a better source for an individual's economic status and provided a more intimate view of how ceramics were perceived in the eighteenth-century home (Appendix A). The shipping registers provided interesting views of the types of wares which were imported from a particular port, though these records contained little detail of the types of ceramics. Together, these documents shaped a better view of the dynamics of ceramics trade throughout the 1760s.

At the outset of this project it was anticipated that Charleston probate records would reveal a regional identity – a unique pattern of ceramic types or their use which

Chapter 4

HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOURCES

Although there are few contemporary journals or diaries which provide information about the individual tastes of Charleston residents during the 1760s, legal and commercial documents from the period enable us to view the accoutrements which furnished the Charleston household. Probate records, ship registers and newspaper advertisements from Charleston in the period 1758 to 1767 were analyzed for types of ceramics listed, usage patterns, location within the households, etc. These records, housed primarily at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History, were used to extract information about the stylistic choices of Charleston's residents in the 1760s.

Each historical medium provided a different view of the marketing and utilization of ceramics in Charleston. Advertisements from Charleston newspapers were most helpful in identifying those merchants who dealt in the ceramics trade (Appendix B), while Charleston County will and probate records were a better source for an individual's economic status and provided a more intimate view of how ceramics were perceived in the eighteenth-century home (Appendix A). The shipping registers provided interesting views of the types of wares which were imported from a particular port, though these records contained little detail of the types of ceramics. Together, these documents shaped a better view of the dynamics of ceramics trade throughout the 1760s.

Probate Records and Charleston Ceramics

At the outset of this project it was anticipated that Charleston probate records would reveal a regional identity – a unique pattern of ceramic types or their use which would vary from other colonial centers. Instead, information extracted from Charleston probate records only served to display the regional preferences for *probate administration* or for *appraiser bias*. In the records reviewed for this project, inventory descriptions were vague, and the sampling was not representative of the populous as a whole. Similar studies of probate records by Garry Wheeler Stone, Mary Beaudry, and other researchers discovered that probate records were only partially representative of a town or region.²⁰⁶ Only a percentage of colonial estates were administered by the probate court, possibly those estates which were very complex, or were contested in some way. We might project that the probate record is random enough to represent a cross-section of the population, but it appears that the inventories do not provide a definitive profile of the Charleston citizenship. For example, in the period between 1758 and 1767, roughly 790 records appear in Charleston probate inventories housed at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History; as a comparison, in 1760 alone, there were 730 deaths in Charleston from a smallpox epidemic.²⁰⁷ For that reason, statistical analysis of the Charleston probate records would serve little purpose in advancing our understanding of usage patterns. However, analysis of probate records by individual estate, without attempts to generalize the information to the greater population, may serve

²⁰⁶ Garry Wheeler Stone, *Conference on Historic Site Archaeology Papers* (1968)3:74; George Miller, "Classification and Economic Scaling of 19th Century Ceramics," *Historical Archaeology* 14:1-40; Mary Beaudry, Janet Long, Henry Miller, Fraser D. Neiman, and Garry W. Stone, "A Vessel Typology for Early Chesapeake Ceramics: The Potomac Typological System," *Historical Archaeology* 17 (1983):18-39.

to provide a glimpse at Charleston style.

Household inventories completed by an extra-familial appraiser were the most frequent format of probate record encountered in the ten-year period surveyed. These lists contained intricate details about household and farming objects, but generally revealed very little about the ceramic styles available to consumers. For the ten-year period of records reviewed, few probate inventories provided detailed information about household ceramics. Of the 790 records included in the study,²⁰⁸ approximately one third did not list any ceramics, while another third provided the nonspecific “one lott (or “one parcel”) earthenware” as the descriptor. Based upon the accompanying cost provided in the inventory, it would appear that most ceramics did not have a high market value, and perhaps therefore did not warrant assessment by executors.

Where ceramics were enumerated in probate records, as in the case of merchants or the households of wealthier citizens, the resulting lists are extraordinary. Appendix A is a list of inventories from estates probated between 1758 and 1767, highlighting the ceramic assemblages within each list. The types of ceramics detailed in these inventories appear to be the more expensive wares, such as porcelain or white salt-glazed stonewares, rather than the lower cost coarse earthenwares. A comparison of ware types with their associated forms (Table 4.1) reveals that appraisers did include details in a few cases: blue and white china ware (36 forms), undifferentiated or white salt-glazed stoneware (29 forms), and green lead glazed earthenwares (12 vessel forms) were the most frequently noted. Green lead-glazed earthenware was not typical of the types of wares detailed in

²⁰⁷ Edgar, *South Carolina*, 158

²⁰⁸ Bound copies of the WPA transcripts of probate inventories were provided by the South Carolina Department of Archives and History (SCDAH), Columbia.

Table 4.1.
CERAMIC FORMS FOUND IN PROBATE INVENTORIES

[illegible]

Table 4.1.
CERAMIC FORMS FOUND IN PROBATE INVENTORIES

FORM	China	Blue & White china	Red & White china	Enamelled china	Burnt china	Enamelled burnt china	Penciled china	Brown and red china	English China	Afternoon china	Breakfast China	Bow china	Prussian china	Stone	White stoneware	Blue & white stone	Black stoneware	Nottingham	"Crockery ware"	"Green" stoneware	Delf or Delph	Dutch	Blue dutch	Black	Black & enamelled	Black gilt	earthenware	yellow ware	Tortoiseshell ware	Coleflower	Pineapple	Barley	Coloured	Green	Iron Red*
fruit dishes/stands														x	x						x													x	
gallon bowl														x	x						x														
hand basin/hand wash basin		x												x	x						x														
jugs/jars		x																																	
leaf dish														x																					
milk pan																																			
milk pot		x												x	x																			x	
mug		x										x		x	x								x						x	x					
mug, pint No. 4														x							x	x		x								x			
mug, quart No. 1														x				x					x									x			
mug, quart no.2														x																		x			
mustard pot															x																				
octagon dish		?																																	
oval dishes																					x													x	
pan																											x	x							
petty/patty pan		x												x													x								
pickle leaves																																			x
pickle saucers																																			
pint bowl		x																																	
pipkin																																			
pitcher															x																				
plate		x		x	x	x								x	x						x		x				x	x	x					x	
porringer																											x								
pudding pan																																			
punch bowl - fluted		x																																	
punch bowl - large		x	x																																
punch bowl - small		x																																	
punch strainer																											x								
quart bowl																																			

Table 4.1.
CERAMIC FORMS FOUND IN PROBATE INVENTORIES

[illegible]

inventories, so its occurrence is noteworthy. While there are many possible explanations for this appraiser bias, it seems most likely that these were the wares which would have had some economic value to the family or business associates of the deceased, and were, therefore, assessed.

Although guidelines were occasionally published which would aid the would-be appraiser in his or her task,²⁰⁹ many Charleston estates were catalogued by a locally appointed team of merchants, lawyers, planters, etc., who might be better equipped to detail the farm implements than the ceramics in the household. A myriad of terms could appear for any ceramic type listed in probate records and commercial documents. "China ware" could mean china, stoneware, earthenwares, European china, etc. Red stoneware was referred to as "red china" in many inventories.²¹⁰ The "Prusian" mug found in Andrew Johnson's probate inventory²¹¹ could refer to Meissen porcelain from Germany, to the King of Prussia tin-glazed wares from Bristol described by W.B. Honey,²¹² or to the commemorative "King of Prussia" pattern of white salt-glazed stonewares, popular after 1756 and found in archaeology at Charleston's Exchange building.²¹³ It could also indicate the King of Prussia image printed on porcelain found in Staffordshire,²¹⁴ or the

²⁰⁹ Anonymous, *The Compleat Appraiser* (London 1761).

²¹⁰ G. Bernard Hughes, *Early English and Scottish Earthenware* (London: Abbey Fine Arts, 1961), 70-71.

²¹¹ Public Records Office. Probate inventory of Andrew Johnson, April 1764. *Secretary of State, Recorded Instruments, Inventories of Estates (WPA transcripts) 1692-1779*. Charleston County. On file at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History.

²¹² W.B.Honey, *English Pottery and Porcelain* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1962), 45.

²¹³ Herold, *Exchange Building*, 89.

²¹⁴ Geoffrey Godden, *Illustrated Encyclopedia of British Pottery and Porcelain*, (London : Barrie & Jenkins, 1980).

white salt-glazed stoneware mug in the collection of Lady Charlotte Schreiber, sporting four verses denoting the contribution of Frederick the Great to the Seven Years War.²¹⁵

The descriptions of ceramic types, including porcelains, are an amalgamation of terms from art historical, archaeological, and documentary sources. Table 4.2 lists some of the other terminology found in Charleston inventories. In this confusion of terms, it is no wonder that appraisers occasionally put “one lott earthenware” and left it at that.

Table 4.2.
Terminology Found in Charleston Probate Inventories 1758-1767.

<i>Term used in probate</i>	<i>Possible ceramic types</i>	
yellowware	creamware combed and dotted slip ware North Devon sgraffito wear slip glazed coarse redware	
Earthenware	creamware coarse earthenwares Jackfield molded wares Whieldon wares	delft Elers wares Buckley crockery
stone	white salt glazed Nottingham British brown stone Fulham Chinese stoneware Westerwald American grey	scratch blue Bellarmine butterpots
china	Queensware Chinese blue and white enameled or burnt penciled Chinese porcelain	Elers stoneware (red china) creamware English/European porcelain

²¹⁵ Bernard Rackham, *Catalogue of English Porcelain, Earthenware, Enamels and Glass collected by Charles Schreiber Esq. M.P. and The Lady Charlotte Elizabeth Schreiber*. London; Victoria and Albert Museum:1928.

Many of the Charleston inventories represent the upper middle to high end of the economic continuum, and subsequently the higher end of the ceramics market as well. Some Charleston town estates were listed at over £47,000²¹⁶ (roughly \$4 million in 1996 money). Probate inventories that included shops or plantations could be higher. At the opposite end of the spectrum are the hundreds of households who had inventories with no earthenware listed, or who relied heavily upon the coarser earthenwares, wood and tin for their daily table and kitchenwares.

While probate evidence, shipping data,²¹⁷ and contemporary accounts indicate that many middle to lower class families were using pewter, wood, or coarse earthenwares rather than the more costly porcelains and fine earthenware, the archaeological record is relatively silent with regard to these alternative materials. It should be noted, however, that the apparent lack of archaeological evidence for pewter and wood does not preclude their use in eighteenth-century households, as Ann Smart Martin notes in her comparison of probate and archaeological records at Williamsburg.²¹⁸

The lower cost and versatility of coarse earthenwares predict their use in a broader range of households than the finer ceramic wares, as evidenced in probate studies completed in eighteenth-century households throughout the colonies. In a comprehensive study of eighteenth-century probate documents from Massachusetts and Connecticut,

²¹⁶ Public Records Office. Probate Inventory, Robert McKewn, Jr., *Secretary of State, Recorded Instruments, Inventories of Estates (WPA Transcripts, Volume 88B Part 1: 1763-1767)*. Charleston County. On file at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History.

²¹⁷ Inbound shipping logs from Charleston reveal wooden wares being shipped from Rhode Island and New York to Charleston. Public Records Office. Shipping logs, quarter ending 10 October 1760. *Secretary of State, Recorded Instruments, Ships registers, County of Charleston, 1734-1780*. On file at SC Department of Archives and History.

²¹⁸ Ann Smart Martin, "The Role of Pewter as Missing Artifact: Consumer Attitudes Toward Tablewares in Late 18th Century Virginia," in George Miller et al., *Approaches to Material Culture*

Gloria Main determined that approximately 70% of the probated New England families surveyed were able to purchase coarse earthenwares, while only 14% could afford the fine earthenwares.²¹⁹ Initial evaluation of Charleston probate lists presented an economic portrait similar to Main's probate data. Approximately 70% of the probate inventories reviewed included ceramics, primarily the ubiquitous "earthenware," with less than half of those containing details about the type of ceramics. If one assumed that a lack of *fine* earthenwares in probate could be associated with the implied use of *coarser* earthenwares, then consumer behavior in the Low Country would mimic that of the New England area, except that the percentage of probated individuals who could afford the finer earthenwares appeared to be higher as a whole for the Charleston population. The association of finer wares with larger estates (those that totaled more than £2000 [\$16,000]) was consistent throughout the inventory data.

The Archaeological Record

While probate data reveals some information about personal choice in household ceramics, archaeological data from Charleston provides a more complete picture of the ceramics trade in the mid-eighteenth-century. We know from comparative studies that archaeology has been completed on relatively few contemporary eighteenth-century Charleston sites, reducing the database from which to draw any information. Archaeologists continue to examine an economic cross-section of eighteenth-century Charleston, but much remains to be studied. The data which is available can provide

Research for Historical Archaeologists, Society for Historical Archaeology, c1991.

²¹⁹ Gloria L. Main, "The Distribution of Consumer Goods in Colonial New England: A Sub-regional Approach," *Proceedings of the Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife* (Boston: Boston University, 1981).

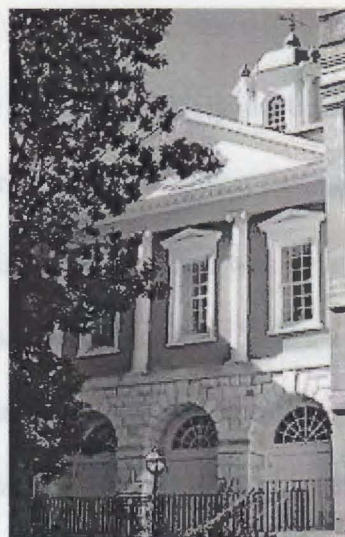
Table 4.3
Ceramics from Charleston Archaeological Investigations

	Meeting Street	Exchange Building	Judicial Center	Cain Hoy	Wappoo Plantation	Unity Alley	Lodge Alley	Drayton Hall		
Undecorated porcelain	x	x	x	x	x	x				
Blue & White china	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		1660-1800
Enamelled china			x	x			x	x		1700-1780
English China			x		x	x				
Prussian china*										
Burslem stoneware					x					1700-1775
British brown stoneware	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			1690-1775
Bellarmine Deteriorated				x	x	x				
White stoneware	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			1740-1775
Scratch blue	x		x	x		x				
Westerwald	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		1575-1725 / 1725-1755
Grey stoneware	x		x	x	x					
Elers/red stoneware		x	x	x		x				
Black stoneware			x	x	x					1750-1820
Nottingham		x	x	x	x	x				1700-1810
Ralph Shaw					x					1732-1750
Albany slipped ware					x					
Alkaline stoneware			x		x					
Agate ware-coarse	x	x	x	x						
Agate ware-refined				x						
Plain delft	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			1640-1830
Polychrome delft	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			
Blue and white delft			x	x	x	x	x			
Faience	x	x	x	x						
Buckley ware		x	x	x						
Black	x	x	x	x	x					
Jackfield		x	x	x	x	x				1745-1790
Buffware				x	x					
Yellow staffordshire	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			1675-1775
Lead glazed earthenware		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
North Devol Gravel temp.		x	x	x	x					1680-1720
Slipware	x	x		x	x					
Astbury ware		x		x		x				
Creamware	x	x	x	x	x	x				1762-1820
Creamware-Littler's										
Whieldon wares			x	x	x	x	x			1759-1775
Molded wares			x	x	x					1759-1775
Coloured					x					
Green	x	x	x	x	x		x			1759-1775
Colonoware	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
Indian		x	x	x	x					
Unglazed redware	x	x	x	x	x					

* List of ware types is taken from published archaeological reports and is by no means complete.

Charleston Archaeology

The Exchange Building (Broad and East Bay Streets, Charleston). This was a building utilized for commercial and meeting purposes in the last quarter of the eighteenth-century. It was built between 1767-1771, and was included because of the date range of ceramics which were found in archaeological excavations, revealing some information about the site prior to the construction of the Exchange.²²¹



Lodge Alley/38 State Street. This site contains archaeological remains of a mid-eighteenth-century house on State Street and an adjoining alley. State street was located in the commercial district of Charleston near the wharf, and was home to merchants, craftsmen, and the like. The alley was also home to those for whom the wharf provided an occupation, as well as some members of lower economic status, including teachers, seamstresses, etc.²²²

Charleston Meat Market (Broad and Meeting Streets, Charleston). This market and exchange was established in the trade district in the early eighteenth century. The archaeological remains from the market are split into three chronological sections, two of

²²¹ Elaine Herold, *Archaeological Research at the Exchange Building, Charleston, S.C.: 1979-1980* (Charleston, South Carolina: The Charleston Museum, 1981).

²²² Martha A Zierden, Jeanne A. Calhoun and Elizabeth Paysinger. *Archaeological Excavations at Lodge Alley, Charleston, South Carolina* (Charleston: The Charleston Museum, 1983).

which are included herein. The Early Market period ran from 1730 to 1760, followed by the Later Market, which included the period from 1760 to 1796.²²³

Unity Alley (off East Bay Street, Charleston). The area immediately surrounding this site on East Bay Street was part of the commercial core of the Charleston during the middle of the eighteenth-century.²²⁴ Part of a land grant in 1698, this land was kept for speculative use until 1723, when it was developed into tenement structures. It remained occupied by a series of tenants throughout the next 40 years. The site includes three distinct periods, but only ceramics from the Colonial period have been included here.

The John Bartlam pottery site (Cainhoy, South Carolina). This archaeological site, located nine miles north of Charleston, was the possible site of potter John Bartlam's workshop or pottery during the period from 1763 to 1769.²²⁵ Before Bartlam's arrival, Cainhoy was known for its brickworks, and was advertised as an ideal location for setting up a kiln due to the excellent clay and availability of wood for fires.²²⁶ Excavations from this site completed by Dr. Stanley South in 1992 and 1993 revealed over 100 individual types of ceramics, many of which are not seen in England or continental Europe.²²⁷ The range of wares, as well as the possible impact on the Charleston ceramics record, make it a logical addition to this report.

²²³ Jeanne Calhoun, Elizabeth Reitz, Michael Trinkley and Martha Zierden. *Meat in Due Season: Preliminary Investigations of Marketing Practices in Colonial Charleston*. Archaeological Contributions 9 (Charleston: The Charleston Museum, 1984).

²²⁴ Martha Zierden, et al., *Archaeological Excavations at McCrady's Longroom* (Charleston: The Charleston Museum, 1982), 6.

²²⁵ Rauschenberg, "John Bartlam," 6-10.

²²⁶ Rauschenberg, "John Bartlam," 6-8.

²²⁷ A complete discussion of South's findings is in Stanley South, *The search for John Bartlam at Cain Hoy: America's first creamware potter*.

Judicial Center site (Broad Street, Charleston). The excavation of the Judicial Center site, sponsored by Charleston County, is an excellent example of the type of urban archaeology which continues to occur in Charleston today. Research indicates that in addition to public buildings this site included residential plots as well, resulting in a unique blend of artifacts from the site. Though analysis of the ceramics from this site has not been completed, an initial survey reveals an assemblage which includes ceramics seen in other mid-eighteenth-century Charleston sites.²²⁸

Wappoo Plantation (Stono River, Charleston County). The site of the Lucas family plantation in the second half of the eighteenth century. Indigo was developed here by daughter Eliza, and eventually became Charleston's second largest export crop in the eighteenth century.²²⁹ The plantation was rented after Eliza's marriage to Charles Pinckney, although the Lucas family retained rights to the indigo crop and its proceeds.

Drayton Hall. (West of Charleston, on the Ashley River). Built 1738-1742 by John Drayton, at its peak this plantation incorporated 600 acres, including indigo and rice fields, formal gardens, and a greenhouse.

Style versus Status

Ceramics from archaeological excavations can tell us a great deal about the occupants of a site. Archaeologists use ceramics to date sites based upon the known manufacture dates of certain wares. Likewise, ceramics are excellent indicators of status. Researchers have compared the cost of ceramic types (based upon day books and probate

²²⁸ Analysis of ceramic artifacts from the Judicial Center site is being completed by New South Associates. Excavations at the Judicial Center are part of ongoing archaeological research on the Judicial Center construction being sponsored by Charleston County and conducted by New South Associates, Stone Mountain, Georgia.

²²⁹ Pinckney, *Letterbook*, x,xi.

records) with assemblages from sites of a known socio-economic status, and have developed several theories about their correlation. Higher cost wares, such as porcelain or white salt-glazed stonewares appear on sites of higher socio-economic status, but less frequently on middle to low class sites. At Drayton Hall, Chinese porcelain exists almost to the exclusion of white salt-glazed stoneware in the archaeological context – a phenomenon which is unusual for sites of this period.

Within the 1760s, certain ware types occur more frequently in early sites than in later. In sites occupied before 1760, white salt-glazed stonewares and combed and dotted yellow slip-decorated wares appear to be the most widely used tea and tablewares.²³⁰

Earlier sites (Lodge Alley and Unity Alley²³¹) also tend to have higher incidence of utilitarian slip decorated wares, coarse earthenwares and delft than the later occupations. By the late 1760s, sites contain less delftware and slipware types, and higher numbers of cream-colored earthenwares, which dominate the market until the 1780s. Chinese porcelain is a continuous presence in the ceramic record throughout the colonial period, though forms and designs do change over the course of time

Some ceramic types are unique to an individual site. The ceramics assemblage at Cainhoy has a higher percentage of brightly colored cream-colored wares (tortoiseshell, pineapple, melon, and cauliflower) than any other site. Further research reveals that these wares could have been produced at Cainhoy, and that the percentages of these wares, as well as the total sherd counts (>61% or 4288 sherds), surpass any other Charleston site.

²³⁰ Zierden, *Lodge Alley*.

²³¹ Zierden, *McGrady's Longroom and Lodge Alley*.

The Cainhoy site collection is being prepared for further analysis, and will be published in a separate manuscript.²³²

The information provided by the archaeological reports included herein confirmed that Charleston was importing a broad range of ceramics in the mid-eighteenth-century, and was utilizing them in ways which reflect socio-economic trends throughout England and the colonies. Wealthier homes were using more refined earthenwares and porcelain, while lower class sites appear to be less able to purchase the fine ceramics in large quantities. The existence of coarse earthenwares on the majority of Charleston sites points to its usefulness and its versatility in the home.

If we compare the archaeological data with the information provided by the probate record, we see patterns of consumption and usage which emerge. We can use this synthesis of art historical, archaeological and historical information to improve our understanding of those which would not have been available only in the colonial probate records. The daily use of ceramics becomes a type of social identifier with which Charlestonians can establish their place in the socio-economic hierarchy. It is this fusion of archaeology and history which will reveal the broader scope of eighteenth-century material culture.

²³² Analysis of the Cainhoy site collection continues as the record of Charleston imports becomes clearer. Dr. Stanley South reached preliminary conclusions about the wares being produced by John Bartlam in his volume on Cainhoy, but continues to refine his study, and will present an updates volume in the near future.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSIONS

A center for style, a crossroads of commerce: this was Charleston's role in the 1760s. These aspects of Charleston's character were critical in determining the types of ceramics that would be found in the merchant district, on kitchen tables, or in the *beaufats* of dining rooms and parlors. Upon reviewing the research herein, one can recognize several factors which influenced the distribution of ceramics in Charleston during the 1760s.

An introduction of mass production techniques in the European pottery industry led to an increase in the complexity of the Charleston ceramics market. By 1760, potteries were no longer considered a cottage industry. Josiah Wedgwood and his peers were streamlining production, and had begun lobbying for better transportation for their wares between Staffordshire and the major ports. As a result, lag time between introduction of a ware in England and its documented sale in the colonies reduced significantly,²³³ and the availability of goods improved.

The predominance of plantations in Charleston's economy also affected the ceramics market, not only influencing the type and number of wares imported, but also the way in which they were used. Merchants worked hard to develop a diverse ceramic

²³³ Wedgwood developed his green glaze in 1759, and green glazed wares appear in probate inventory for William Wilson in 1764. See Mankowitz, *Wedgwood*, 29 and Hughes, *Ceramics*, 106.

trade to meet the demands of an ever-powerful planter class. As rice and indigo exports found their way to Europe, porcelain, stoneware, and refined earthenwares were shipped into Charleston harbor for resale. The plantation culture may have participated in the realignment of ceramic usage patterns by introducing a higher percentage of colonial wares into the formula. Native American and/or slave potters constructed pots from local clays which resembled traditional wares from both cultures. This locally-made pottery reduced the need for imported coarse redwares, possibly shifting the trade balance toward more expensive ceramics. At the same time, the discovery of European ceramic wares in the archaeological remains of Low Country slave cabins introduces the possibility that slaves were utilizing European wares in ways that reflected African or Native American foodways rather than European ones.

A final contributor to Charleston's ceramic style may have been the relationship between the planters of the Low Country and their counterparts in the West Indies.



Figure 5.1. Imported ceramics

A high percentage of green and gold wares (tortoiseshell-glazed, molded pineapple, or molded cauliflower wares) appear in Charleston archaeological collections, particularly at the Cainhoj site.²³⁴ Historical records indicate that Wedgwood was shipping these wares to the "hot climates" (the West Indies) after their popularity had decreased in England.

²³⁴ Percentages are calculated from available data on the Bartlam collection (38BU1349 and 1349A), housed at the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, Columbia, SC.

With the strong trade connections to the island colonies, the green and gold ceramics may have been shipped into Charleston, thus increasing the possibility of finding these wares in southern homes. Archaeologically these wares do appear more frequently in the south than at northern sites. At the Cainhoy archaeological site, however, the percentage of these type wares is significantly higher than other Charleston excavations, indicating a phenomenon unique to the site. The hypothesis that potter John Bartlam was creating these green and gold wares at Cainhoy may be strengthened with this data, and should be further researched to validate the statistical significance of these findings.

A final comment should be made about the research methodology used in this thesis. The original research design predicted that shipping records would contain information which would allow a definitive link between trade and ceramics style. Unfortunately, the complexity of Charleston's market, and the lack of detailed ceramic information in those records prevented such a causal link from being developed. However, the available shipping lists did provide an excellent source of information on the quantity and type of goods being shipped through Charleston, from which inferences can be made about other aspects of Charleston's foodways. Additionally, the shipping lists include information on the owners of ships and their home ports, which has allowed us to discover where ceramics were being loaded onto the ships, thus adding another facet to our appreciation of the economics of the pottery industry in England and the colonies.

Other historical documents were equally important in the understanding of Charleston's ceramic market. Inventories collected through the probate system included details about the use of ceramics within the household, including the forms being used,

their location within the household, and their relative cost. Similarly, newspaper advertisements were helpful in the search for trade venues, seasonal shipping patterns, and the diversity of finished goods being imported to Charleston.

Finally, archaeological site information gave us insight into personal style, although in many cases, the information on forms was often incomplete unless whole vessels or dinner sets were excavated at one time. The typical privy or well collection included lots of small pieces of many different types of wares, with the occasional whole mug or chipped chamber pot to divert the archaeologist. Although a complete image of Charleston's ceramic personality is difficult to recreate with just one of these historical sources, multi-disciplinary study reveals a dynamic socio-economic system which heavily influenced ceramic choices in the 1760s.

Further research needs to be done on other periods of Charleston's history in order to understand the growth and diversity of material culture in the South. Likewise, a comparative study of Charleston's ceramic with those of other colonial centers may define trade patterns which are invisible within the distribution from a single settlement. A similar look at Carolina frontier settlements will reveal the personal choices which were being made on a daily basis, and may provide further insight into the social and economic influences which directed colonial life.

Finally, the archaeological collections from Cainhoy, as well as the composite collections throughout Charleston, may offer new information about the role of local potters in Charleston's ceramics trade: the use of colonoware in urban settings; the influence of a local potter such as John Bartlam on the local economy; the existence of

other potters who created ceramics locally, but whose names have faded between the lines of history.

The importance of ceramic data lies in the role that it has played – and continues to play – in our daily lives. As we help our grandmother place her favorite dishes back in the china cupboard, or as we watch a child learn how to make a bowl from clay, we are helping to create tomorrow's traditions. As we express our personal taste for one pattern over another, and as we special order those pieces which broke at the last dinner party, we mirror the types of choices that were being made in the South Carolina Low Country over two hundred years ago. Thus, we are exhibiting our own ceramic style for future historians to consider.

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Appendix A
Excerpts from Probate Inventories 1759 to 1767

Mathew, John	3/10/60	4 doz of stone plates & 12 dishes	9.0.0	24778.7.0
		A Lott of China Bowls Cups & Saucers	7.0.0	
		1 set of silver castors compleat	120.0.0	
		1 coffe pott silver	90.0.0	
		1 do tankard £90 2 do muggs 60	110.0.0	
		1 silver sauce boat £30 1 pap boat £5 1 punch ladle 7	42.0.0	
		15 do table spoons, & 1 soup spoon	80.0.0	
		1 waiter silver	15.0.0	
		18 silver Tea spoons 1 pr tongs 2 strainers	20.0.0	
		13 stone jugs £6-10" 10 doz of bottles £5	11.10.0	
		12 stone jars £3 1 small case £1 1 Caedar Table £3	17.0.0	
		1 pewter turin & six water plates	1.10.0	
		10 pewter dishes 3 1/2 dozen do plates	22.10.0	
Steel, Dr. Jas	4/19/60	6 enamled China plates 5 stone do	6.0.0	5409.10.9
		4 earthen do 3 earthen Bowls 15/ 5 China bowls 45/	3.0.0	
		6 burnt china cups & sawsers 45/ 1 Doz: Blue and white do £2.10	4.15.0	
		2 coffey cups & sawsers 2 milk pots 25/	1.5.0	
		7 tea pots & coffey do 55/ 1 spoon boat 2 pickle do 7/6	3.2.6	
		[32 pewter plates 6 dishes 17 knives & forks]	16.5.0	

Appendix A **Excerpts from Probate Inventories 1759 to 1767**

Willet, Samuel	4 March 1764	6 burnt china cups and saucers	1.5.0	1637.17.0
(widow of merchant)		6 do do do 1 large china bowl	3.5.0	
		6 delph bowls	2.16 1.0.0	
		2 china milk pots 4 delph tea pots	10/	
		a small quantity of earthenware of diff sorts	1.0.0	
Pimento, Moses	7/4/64	A parcell yello ware plates and dishes &c	10.0.0	2380.19.7
		2-3 pt and 1 doz quart blue bowles @3/6 ea	2.0.0	
		2 stone butter boats 5/ 6 stone sugar pots 7/6	10/	
		13 quart do 16 pint do & 1 jugg	4.0.0	
		3-1/2 pr stone salts 8/9	8/9	
		2 mustard potts 1/3	1/3	
		6 blue stone chamber potts 30/	30/	
		10 white do 30/	30/	
		18 stone tea potts 25/	25/	
		5 stone milk potts 5/	5/	
		12 blue and white dishes 90/	90/	
		2 stone dishes 20/	20/	
		6 white wash hand basons 15/	15/	
		1 doz stone soop plates 30/	30/	
		1-1/2 doz blue do 12/6	12/6	
		2 doz blue flat plates 30/	30/	
		A Parcel of Glass Stone & Earthenware with some China in C.		
		Cupboard	5.10.0	
		[18 pewter plates, 4 dishes, 1 cover 3.0.0]	8.0.0	

Appendix A
Excerpts from Probate Inventories 1759 to 1767

Air, Ann
 (widow of merchant)

c March 1764

SHOP GOODS

8-1/2doz stone cups and saucers, 5 flower horns, 5 small bottles

2.16.10-1/2

2891.1.3

4 doz stone tea potts

5.0.0

4 doz milk potts 50/

50/

22 sugar dishes 30/

30/

11 butter boats 10/

10/

45 bowls 60/

60/

6 hand basins 10/

10/

59 plates 50/

50/

11 earthen pans, 1 dutch oven, 13 cruets and 3 doz stone mugs

3.2.6

39 stone jugs 19"10

19"10

51 chamber potts

8.10.0

31 stone jarrs

4.17.6

HOUSE AND KITCHEN

2981.1.3

70 china cups and saucers

8.12.6

5 burnt & 2 English china bowls

9.10.0

16 burnt China Plates and Dishes

4.10.0

A Parcel of Glass Stone & Earthenware with some China in C.

Cupboard

5.10.0

[18 pewter plates, 6 dishes, 1 cover 8.0.0]

8.0.0

Appendix A
Excerpts from Probate Inventories 1759 to 1767

Holmes, Isaac	5/9/64	sundry china ware	35.12.1	32789.9.675
		sundry stoneware	5.2.10	
		2 pint measures and 2 tea potts	1.2.7	
		3 doz chamber potts & 12 water jugs	1.16.0	
		4 oil kettles 3/ 12 fish plates 10/	13/	
		7 coffee mills, 8 tea kettles	6.9.0	
		5 coffee potts 29/ 6 sauce pans 17-1/3	2.6.3	
		6 chaffing dishes 13/2	13/2	
		5 compleat setts of tea china	10.4.0	
		5 painted tea cannisters	17/6	
		sundry stone ware	11.16.3	
		5 coffee pots	29/	
		[14 windsor chairs@ 7/6 = 5.5.0]		
		15 earthen butter potts	1.17.6	
		[12 doz wooden bowls and platters 15.0.0]		
		1 closet of china and glass ware	8.0.0	
		1 Do of stoneware	5.0.0	
		1 beaufet of chinaware	70.0.0	
		1 cup board of china and glass ware	20.0.0	
		1 coffee pot and 2 chased waiters [silver]	116.5.0	
		flower potts (? cost)		
		1/4 of ship Little Carpenter, 1/3 of ship Kendall		+ 2408.6.8
		List of debts owed to estate		23994.15.95

Appendix A
Excerpts from Probate Inventories 1759 to 1767

Guerard, John	5/30/64	Compleat set of China viz 10 flat blue & White Dishes, 2 soop Do, 1 Pr sallad ditto, 2 doz Flat Plates & 2 doz Soup ditto		large estate (merchant)
			30.0.0	
		1 dozn Red and White shallow plates	6.0.0	
		14 Old Plates 3 Soup ditto & 4 old dishes	9.0.0	
		1 Pr Octagon plates	1.10.0	
		2 Red and White small dishes	1.5.0	
		1 Compleat set of red and white table china	20.0.0	
		6 small blue and white Tea Cups & Saucers, 9 large ditto & 1 Blue & White Milk pot	4.0.0	
		6 Blue and White small butter dishes	1.10.0	
		9 Blue & White Coffee cups	1.5.0	
		1 Mug	12/6	
		2 Large blue & white Punch Bowls with 4 smaller ditto	8.10.0	
		1 Large Red & White ditto & 1 Blue & White fluted ditto	3.0.0	
		6 Blue & White slop bowls & 2 Red & White ditto Bow China	3.5.0	
		Stone Ware		
		3 dozn shallow plated, 1 doz Small Ditto & 9 soup ditto	4.5.0	
		2 Oval DIshes 1 Soup ditto & 2 fruit Do	2.15.0	
		6-1/2 Pint bowls, 1 Dozn Delph Ware wash hand basons & 7 Pint Bowls	2.3.9	
		2 Baking pans		
		2 three gallon jugs, 2 large blue & white ditto & 1 small ditto		
			2.5.0	
		2 half pint pipkins & 1 stewing pan	10/	
		6 Tea Potts	1.0.0	

Appendix A
Excerpts from Probate Inventories 1759 to 1767

Wilson, William	11/15/64	34 Delf bowls & 33 Delf plates	5.0.0
		21 Black and Enamd Tea Potts	1.101
		3 doz Quart Stone Muggs No 1, 2 doz & 7 ditto No 2	7.10.0
		3 doz & 9 pint ditto No 4	2.5.0
		8 doz white Stone Cups and Saucers	2.0.0
		1-1/2 doz milk potts & 1/2 doz mustard potts	1.0.0
		8 Flower horns & 11 Sugar dishes	3.0.0
		8 Butter boats & 5 pr Salts	10/
		1 Large Tureen	1.5.0
		1 doz Stone plates & 8 Stone fruit dishes	2.0.0
		1 doz pint Stone muggs & 3 Chamber pots, 5 Wash hand basons	
			1.0.0
		2 Green fruit dishes & Stands 2 ditto tea potts & 2 Milk potts 1	
		Butter tub & stand & 1 Sugar dish 5 fruit dishes	3.0.0
		12 doz Stone cups & Saucers 2 Doz Blue & White ditto 1-1/4 doz	
		Stone Coffee Cups 2 painted glass flower pots, 16 Common wine	
		Glasses	5.0.0
		1 doz small green plates, 1 Doz larger, 2 large Oval Dishes 4 smaler	
		ditto	[no price]
		4 smaler ditto 6 Large pickle leaves	"
		4 Smaler ditto 4 Small pickle leaves	"
		1 Doz large Tortoiseshell plates, 1/2 doz smaller ditto	"
		1 Doz Blue Dutch plates, 1 doz Breakfast ditto	"
		1 Coleflower tub & stand, 1 pineapple ditto	"
		1 coleflower Sugar dish and milk pott, 1 Tea pott & milk pott	"
			"
		1 Tortoiseshell Tea pott 2 sugar boxes 3 milk potts & 3 slop bowles	"

Appendix A
Excerpts from Probate Inventories 1759 to 1767

Wilson, William (cont.)

3 enameled Tea potts 3 sugar dishes & 2 milk potts	"
1 Doz Black Gilt [teapots]	"
1 Pr large faces & 2 pr smaller ditto	[no price]
3 Barbers basons 3 bottles and stands	"
2 large oval dishes 3 smaller ditto 4 round ditto	"
1 doz Stone plates	"
6 Large Black Gilt Tea Pots 6 small do	"
3 white stone butter boats	"
3 Tortoiseshell ditto 3 ditto Tea potts 3 ditto Ditto	"
3 do Barl pint mugs & 1 smaller ditto	"
6 Black half pint ditto 1 Blk Bbl Quart mugg	"
1 doz Notingham Quart mugs	"
2 doz white Quart ditto	"
1 doz Dutch pint ditto	"
1 doz Notingham pt do	"
1/2 doz white Stone pint Do	"
1 doz 3 pt Bowles 1/2 Doz Galn Do, 1 Doz qut do	"
1 doz patty pans	"

Appendix A
Excerpts from Probate Inventories 1759 to 1767

Johnston, Andrew	ca April 1764	One set enameled china viz One Tureen, Twelve Sloop & twelve flat Plates and six d Dishes	25.0.0	6801.12.6
		Sixteen China, Desert Pieces	8.0.0	
		Half a dozen large Breakfast Cups, half dozen Small Cups and half a dozen Coffee Cups and Saucers	7.0.0	
		One pair blue China Mugs	5.0.0	
		Two large Enameled burnt China bowls and one smaller ditto	7.0.0	
		Two Prussian China Mugs	2.0.0	
		Three Small blue and white bowls and Sugar dish	1.10.0	
		Two large Salad Dishes one broke	3.0.0	
		One Fish Dish one pair smaller	1.10.0	
		One China Sloop Dish & one Dozen Plates	8.0.0	
		Eight China petty pans, Eight old sloop plates	3.0.0	
		one pair China Salts & one pair CHina butter boats	1.10.0	
		Two China butter plates, & three Tea Potts	1.0.0	
		Two dozen white stone plates & three dishes & one stone mustard pott	1.10.0	
		[Twelve goof sticks and balls]	3.0.0	
		Six Pewter Water plates & 2 dishes	10.0.0	
		Two dozen plates and six dishes	7.0.0	
		One pewter tankard half Gallon Pott & Tin Funnell	1.10.0	
		[Books....Peregrine Pickle 4 Volls]	2.0.0	
		One Oyl cloth	4.0.0	

Appendix A
Excerpts from Probate Inventories 1759 to 1767

Parmenter, Joseph	3/26/64	lott of earthenware	1.0.0	3767.2.0
		1 box and a parcell of crockery ware phials and earthen	1.10.0	
		2 dishes & 7 plates	3.0.0	
		1 lot jugs & jarrs	4.10.0	
		A set china ware		
			1.10.0	
		some brown china	1.11.0	
		3 punch bowls 12/6	12/6	
		2 tea pots 1 milk pot 7/6	7/6	
Harvey, Arnold	10/17/64	[1 cypress beaufet]	10.0.0	{large estate}
		1/2 doz Burnt China plates	5.10.0	
		1/2 doz blue & white & 2 dishes	1.0.0	
		bowles tea cups and saucers	1.0.0	
		stone mug earthen porringers earthen cake dishes & pewter tankard		
		& 1 stone mug	15.0.0	
		[1 flowered jepand sugar box	1.10.0	
		1 white mug	2.15.0	
		1 coffee pott		
		1 milk pan	3.0.0	
			4.3.0	
			3.10.0	
			15/	
			40/	
			30/	
			25/	

Appendix A
Excerpts from Probate Inventories 1759 to 1767

Lloyd, Mary	3/5/64	5 old china bowls		2338.16.6
			2.0.0	
		9 coffee, 1 tea cup and saucers	1.10.0	
		4 China & delph plates, 2 black tea pots, 1 butter pot & 1 sugar pot		
			1.0.0	
		19 China plates, 1 coffee pot stand	6.0.0	
		4 stone dishes, 2 fuit plates & 2 stone flower pots 30/ 1 stew pan 6/	4.10.0	
Eddings, William	ca Nov 1766	A Lot Delph Ware 1 Do Enameled China Plates	10.10.0	
		1 Large China Bowl, 1/2 do fluted enameled China cups and Saucers		
			8.10.0	
		1/2 Doz Afternoon cups & saucers, 1/2 doz do	4.15.0	
		1 Do China sups & Saucers, 1/2 do 1/2 pint bowls		
			6.0.0	
		2 Glass & 3 China Bowls, 11 China Coffee Cups	7.10.0	
		1 Pr Glass Candlesticks, 1/2 Do China soop plates and 4 shallow Do		
			3.15.0	
		1/2 Do China breakfast China cups sawcers and Sugar dish		
			3.0.0	
		A lot black stone ware 40/, 10 China cups and Saucers (bro. and red) 40/	4.5.0	
		2 China mugs 30/ a Lot China & Glass bowls 40/	3.10.0	
		1 Large Delf Bowl 15/	15/	
		A Lot Green Stone Ware	45/	
		A Lot White Stone Ware	80/	
		22 white Stone plates 25/		

Appendix A
Excerpts from Probate Inventories 1759 to 1767

Cordes, Henrietta Catherine	1/10/65	1 doz enam'd China plates	6.0.0	13178.10.4
		1 pr China dishes 17 China plates 17 do cups & saucers	14.10.0	
		Old china cups	1.10.0	
		2 silver candlesticks	10.0.0	
		2 cruets 2 salts Mustard Pot 1 pr decanters 6 China &c bowls	10.0.0	
		2 silver caudle cups wt 72 oz	198.0.0	
		1 coffee pot 2 pepper boxes 1 Tea Pott 2 salvers 1 milk pott	173.5.0	
		1 doz plates	5.0.0	
		15 old do	3.0.0	
		1 coffee pot	2.0.0	
		5 tea potts 12/6	10.0.0	
		4 butter cups & 2 sugar pots @ 2/6	10.0.0	
		9 chamber pots 65/	1.15.0	
		8 old cups and saucers	1.10.0	
		1 Green Salad Bowl and Dish	1.10.0	
		2 small Green Fish Dishes & 1 Doz do Plates	1.15.0	
		4 Blue and White Plates & 2 Dishes	10.0.0	
		1 Coloured Coffee Pot	10.0.0	
		2 English China butter boats	10.0.0	
		1 silver coffee pot	10.0.0	
		1 silver coffee pot	10.0.0	
		1 silver coffee pot	10.0.0	
		1 silver coffee pot	10.0.0	

Appendix A
Excerpts from Probate Inventories 1759 to 1767

Verdier, Andrew	c 1766	2 Large white Stone Dishes	3.0.0	
		3 White Stone Fish Dishes	1.10.0	
		2 white wash hand basons	10/	
		4 Green Fish Dishes, different sizes	2.0.0	
		1 White stone pitcher	7/6	
		A Small parcel Yellow ware	1.0.0	
		11 White plates & 1 dish	1.0.0	
		1 blue and white china bowl (Crack'd)	1.10.0	
		1 - 3 pint enameld ditto	2.0.0	
		2 small Enameled China Bowls	15/	
		1 set Blue and White Chine Cups & Saucers	1.15.0	
		8 old cups and saucers	10/	
		1 Green Salad Bowl and Dish	1.10.0	
		2 small Green Fish Dishes & 1 Doz do Plates	1.15.0	
		4 Blue and White Plates & 2 Dishes	10/	
		1 Collour'd Coffee Potts	7/6	
		2 English China butter boats	5/	
		1 pair large china dishes		
		6 pencil china dishes		
		lot of china and glass		
		5 small dishes and 4 plates		

Appendix A
Excerpts from Probate Inventories 1759 to 1767

Pepper, Gilbert	12/19/66	1 bauffet and china 27 stone plates 2 flower pots 2 dishes and 12 plates 6 milk pans and 3 yellow do 12 stone jugs	50.0.0 5.0.0 2.0.0 6.0.0 2.5.0 12.0.0	8859.7.6
Fenden, Martha	2/16/67	8 English milk pans 10/, a lot delph ware 12/6 Lott yellow pans 20/ Lott China cups and saucers, milk pott, sugar dish, etc. 4 teapotts 40/ lott stone plates and dishes 2/6 2 large stone jarrs 30/	20/ 1.10.0 40/ 30/	1913.15.0
Dutarque, John (CAPT)	1/15/67	3 china bowls 30/ tea cups and saucers £3. 6 milk pans and wash bason 20/ 15 china plates 50/ 30 stone plates 2 dishes and a tureen tea pot, water pots, wash bason, pickle leaves milk pot, tin pan and bowl 1.10.0	£3.30.0 20/ 50/ 2.10.0	8854.10.0
Mathews, John	2/19/67	1 doz enameld china plates 1 blue and white china soop dish and tea plates 1 pair burnt china dishes 6 pencild china dishes lot of china and glass 5 stone dishes and 8 plates	£6.0.0 7.0.0 3.10.0 2.10.0 12.0.0 2.0.0	3404.15.0

Appendix B

ADVERTISING THE TRADE

JUST IMPORTED in the *Lamb*, Capt. Price, from *Bristol*,
...yellow ware in crates

SAMUEL CARNE

The South Carolina Gazette, Charleston, 3 to 7 May, 1754.



CROFT & DART

Have just imported, in the *Joseph*, Capt. Seager, from *Bristol* and will sell cheap
...shallow and soup white stone mosaic plates and dishes - fruit baskets - green mellons and leaves
- neat stone faces and horns for flowers - blue and white water jugs...
South Carolina Gazette, Charleston, 29 Aug 1763, 3-2.



Imported in the *Friendship* Captain Ball, from London and to be sold by
Hetherington and Hynock at their store upon the Bay-
"china and china images"
South Carolina Gazette, Charleston, 27 Aug 1763, 2-1.



FIFTY Crates of YELLOW WARE to be sold cheap,
by the subscriber, at his store in Elliot Street
Dec. 1st, 1764 John Vaux
South Carolina Gazette, Charleston, 10 Dec 1764, Suppl. 2-3.



SAMUEL WISE

Has just imported in the *Baltick Merchant*, Capt. Clarkson,
from BRISTOL,
...delph, white stone, and blue and white stone chamberpots, white stone plates, dishes, bowls, and
tureens, pine apple, collyflower and tortoise shell tea pots, coffee pots,
milk pots, sugar dishes, flower horns, and pickle leaves, flower pots, milk pans,
crates of earthenware, stone jugs.....
South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal, Charleston, 21 Jan 1766, 1-1.



Imported in the Brigantine *Polly*, Thomas Dean, Master, from SALEM,
and to be sold on Col. Beale's Wharf, GOOD old Barbados Rum and Sugar, New England Rum,
Molasses, Iron Pots of sundry sorts, Wood Axes, half Bushels, Chairs,
Water Buckets, Sugar Boxes, Desks and Tables, Onions in Bunches, Potatoes,
Cyder, Salt Fish, Earthen and Tin Ware,
South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal, Charleston, 21 Jan 1766, 3-2.

Just imported in the ship LIBERTY, ROBERTLIVINGSTON,
Master, from LEVERPOOL [sic]
ABOUT Three Thousand Bushels of fine Stove dried
Salt--Coals--Empty Bottles--Bottles Beer--A few Crates of
Yellow Ware, black ware, and Porto-Bello Ware,
Cheshire and double Gloucester Cheese--Potatoes, &c.
The above goods will be sold remarkably low by the
Quantity or Package, by NOWELL & LORD
South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal, Charleston, 28 Jan 1766, 2-2.



JAMES McCALL
Has just imported in the ship LLOYD, Capt. POCOCK,
from BRISTOL:
A VERY VALUABLE and COMPLEAT CARGO OF GOODS:
...[textiles, foods, hardware, and]...large red hearth tiles, red unglazed China tea and coffee pots;
brown bowls, compleat sets of pencil work;...
South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal, Charleston, 18 Aug 1767, 3-1.



TO BE SOLD...a CONSIGNMENT,
A LARGE QUANTITY of blue and white CHINA DISHES AND PLATES, ENAMELED
PLATES, blue and white ENAMELED, and burnt in Setts TEACHINA, blue and white and
ENAMELED Pint and Half Pint BOWLS,
with sundry other CHINA WARE
Oats and Russell
South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal, Charleston, 25 Oct 1768, 3-1.



WILLIAM GLEN, AND SON
Have imported...from London...AMONGST WHICH ARE
An assortment of GLASS WARE, CRATES OF STONE AND
CLOUDY WARE, STONE JUGS.....
South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal, Charleston, 17 Mar 1772, 3-2.